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Defense Ministry on Missile Treaty Completion

LD2504145491 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—Under the Soviet-U.S. treaty to eliminate intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the destruction of Soviet and U.S. missiles, to which this treaty applies, should be completed in May 1991, the Soviet Defence Ministry reports.

In fulfilling the provisions of the treaty, the Soviet Union destroyed its OTR-22 and OTR-23 shorter-range missiles, the RK-55 land-based cruise missiles and the R-12 and R-14 medium-range missiles in 1988-1990.

The last Soviet RSD-10 medium-range missiles will be eliminated in Kapustin Yar on May 12.

The Soviet Union and the United States are thus completing the programme to eliminate two classes of missiles—medium and shorter-range. As many as 1,846 Soviet and 846 U.S. Missiles will be destroyed in the three years of the implementation of the treaty.

'New' U.S. Nuclear War Plan Viewed

PM2504202091 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by Captain S. Sidorov under the "Observer's Column" rubric: "Attracted by the Cold?.."]

[Text] That war—the "cold" war—about whose end journalists were constantly speaking seems to be reluctant to "end." It is hard otherwise to explain the birth deep inside the Pentagon of a new plan for waging nuclear war against the Soviet Union. And it is even harder to explain why they are trying to persuade the U.S. public that such a plan is necessary. At any rate such an attempt can be seen in the introduction of this question to the pages of the U.S. press.

The plan reported recently by THE WASHINGTON POST citing a high-ranking administration official should soon be approved by President G. Bush. Subsequently it will probably replace or be integrated into the present "Strategic Integrated Operations Plan" (SIOP-7) which provides for nuclear strikes against vitally important targets on the territory of the USSR in the event of a global conflict between our countries.

The details of the new plan have not yet been made public. It is only known that it provides for a reduction of the total number (by approximately 1,000) of the targets in the Soviet Union and East Europe. It emerges from the words of a spokesman for the administration quoted by THE WASHINGTON POST that this is connected mainly with the reduction of the USSR Armed Forces and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territories of their former Warsaw Pact allies.

As for the other motives cited in the interview—"important changes in the Soviet Union" and the sacramental "end of the 'cold war'"—they may be pleasant to hear but in no way fit in with the thrust of the plan. And its thrust has remained the same: Like all similar documents in the past the plan allows the possibility of a nuclear conflict with the USSR and consequently reflects the hope of the U.S. military-political leadership for victory in it.

How far this accords with the widely proclaimed spirit of present Soviet-U.S. relations is for the reader himself to judge. I shall merely recall that in 1985 in Geneva the U.S. president for the first time agreed that there should never be nuclear war and that there would be no victors in it. Twice—in Malta and in Paris—the present White House incumbent confirmed that the United States no longer considers the Soviet Union its adversary. So what is the worth of these assurances today?

People may object: There is a certain inertia in global matters like relations between the two nuclear superpowers. Especially if for many years these relations were built (and are still built) on the basis of the odious formula of "mutual assured destruction." And here, people say, there is a reduction of 1,000 in the number of targets... Although that is so, one cannot bring oneself to assess the amended "end of the world" scenario as "a step in the right direction."

There is one more factor. In the context of the talks under way between the USSR and the United States on nuclear and space weapons, the plan becomes an element in a political and diplomatic game. It performs the function of pressure on the Soviet side: If you do not want to "cooperate" with us in implementing a strictly "nonoffensive" strategic defense program, you will have the prospect of a disarming and decapitating nuclear strike.

The whole point, however, is that a realistic path toward eliminating the nuclear threat consists in the consistent reduction of the strategic offensive potential and the building of confidence and not in the creation of a new system of weapons and by no means in the militarization of space. For that reason Washington's unchanged logic today cannot fail to give rise to an oppressive feeling.

Of course, the "cold war" will no longer be resurrected in the form customary for past years. But you would have to be a consummate idealist to think that Soviet-U.S. relations are guaranteed a brilliant future; or you would have to work in the Pentagon to suppose that playing at nuclear confrontation will at some time lead us to good.

Gorbachev Urges Support For Chernobyl Program

LD2504193191 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—Follows the text of the appeal of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to governments of all countries and to the world public, which was issued today:

"The Chernobyl tragedy has not become a thing of the past. Its scope, the time it is going to take and consequences are such that the humanity is just beginning to realise fully the global nature of social, medical and psychological problems created by this catastrophe.

"During the five years that have elapsed since the accident, the Soviet Union increased many times over the efforts directed at alleviating its consequences. They are concentrated within the framework of a single federal-republican programme of urgent measures, which includes corresponding programmes of Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia.

"During the past five years it became evident that the efficiency of the struggle against the consequences of the catastrophe can be dramatically increased, if many countries pool their efforts. We are grateful to the United Nations Organisations and its Secretary-General Mr. Perez de Cuellar for a broad discussion of international participation in the solution of the Chernobyl problems, and we highly appreciate the concrete steps that followed the discussion. In accordance with the resolution of the 45th U.N. General Assembly session, the U.N. Coordinating Committee for Chernobyl was created. It has already started active work.

"We highly appreciate the efforts of the World Health Organisation (WHO) and its Director General Dr. Hiroshi Nakajima for working out a global long-term international WHO programme for the study of medical aspects of the Chernobyl accident, as well as for creating in the USSR a WHO international centre to study radiation medical problems.

"The Soviet Union, which is attaching much importance to this highly humane initiative, is rendering and will continue to render moral and material support to it. The future of the programme depends to a considerable extent on international cooperation, the pooling of efforts, experience and knowledge of scientists and specialists, as well as of materials resources of many countries. This is why I urge governments of all countries, international, national and public organisations, all people of goodwill to take intellectual and financial participation in the international programme, implemented under the aegis of the World Health Organisation. The results of the programme will be used in the interests of the whole of humanity."

United States & Canada

Bessmertnykh-Baker Hold Talks in Kislovodsk

LD2504071491 Moscow TASS in English 0704 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Kislovodsk, North Caucasus April 25 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and visiting U.S. Secretary of State James Baker today began a one-day working meeting here. They are meeting one to one.

Later talks will continue in a broadened composition.

The agenda includes the situation in the Middle East, the beginning of settlement processes in the region and joint plans for activities.

Brief Journalists on Talks

LD2504131491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1138 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Kislovodsk (north Caucasus), 25 April. (TASS)—The Soviet-U.S. meeting of the heads of the foreign policy departments, which has just ended, "made it possible to discuss in detail the whole set of problems connected with the search for ways to settle the Middle East conflict and hold a peace conference on the Middle East." This was stated by Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR minister of foreign affairs. He and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker spoke to journalists here at the end of the Soviet-U.S. talks.

The Soviet minister stressed that the sides "had found a considerable expansion in the zone of coincidence of views" with regard to holding a peace conference on the Middle East. He gave a high assessment of the efforts made by James Baker in this direction.

The meeting in Kislovodsk, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh continued, was an important element in the development of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue on regional questions. If success is achieved in resolving the conflict in the Middle East, he pointed out, this will "undoubtedly promote the further strengthening of our bilateral links in the most varied spheres."

James Baker stressed that in his opinion "there is a better chance now than before of reaching a settlement in the Middle East, and advantage must be taken of it, although there are considerable obstacles in the way." The meeting in Kislovodsk, he said, has provided a good opportunity for specially discussing joint efforts to achieve peace in this region.

The ministers told journalists that immediately after the end of the talks a working luncheon will be held, at which the sides will discuss problems in the reduction of conventional and strategic offensive armaments and Soviet-U.S. relations. The question of holding the next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting was, they said, not discussed during the course of the talks that were held.

Bessmertnykh on Talks

LD2504195891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1831 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Apr (TASS)—"If one is to make an overall assessment of the results of the working meeting with James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, which has just ended in Kislovodsk, then I consider that it was timely, useful, and constructive," USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh has stated. He was talking to Soviet journalists who had been covering the course of the meeting on board the plane flying him from Kislovodsk (North Caucasus) to Moscow. At the suggestion of the secretary of state, talks took place in the Caucasus on a range of problems associated with a Near East settlement and holding a peace conference on the Near East, and also on a number of international problems in bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations. James Baker informed his Soviet counterpart about his meetings and talks during his third trip to the near east region in recent times.

The minister said the sides had set out their conceptions of a settlement of the chronic conflict in the near East. Many positions coincided, although "very subtle variant readings" also emerged primarily in the approaches of other participants in the settlement and "not among us, the USSR and the United States, as cochairman of the conference."

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh noted that it was agreed at the meeting "to impart additional energy to mutual searches" for the establishment of peace in the Near East. In this connection, the Soviet minister said, he proposes to make a working visit to the Near East in the first half of May this year, after which he will again meet the U.S. secretary of state.

We consider, the minister emphasized in conclusion, that there is a real chance, in the present conditions, of attaining a settlement and holding a peace conference on the Near East that may "play a historic role," and not only in the destinies of the peoples of the region.

Bessmertnykh Returns To Moscow

LD2504162491 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh today returned from Kislovodsk to Moscow after the working meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

The meeting focused on a wide range of issues, connected with the Middle East settlement, international issues and Soviet-U.S. Relations.

Baker Departs Kislovodsk

LD2504124991 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Kislovodsk (northern Caucasus) April 25 TASS—On completion of the working meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker left Kislovodsk today.

Baker will continue his trip to the Middle East.

At the Kislovodsk meeting the sides reviewed a wide range of issues, primarily connected with a Middle East settlement.

Laptev Receives U.S. Assistant Secretary of State

LD2504085591 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 24 TASS—Ivan Laptev, chairman of the Council of the Union—one of the two chambers in the Soviet parliament, today received Richard Schifter, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs.

Asked by Schifter whether the projected emigration law enjoyed enough support in the Supreme Soviet legislature to be adopted, Laptev answered in the affirmative.

He added, however, that Soviet nationals seeking to emigrate were in reality often psychologically unprepared for the abrupt change in their lives. "They are positive that in the West they are waiting for them with open arms, but this is a delusion," Laptev said.

He told Schifter that even without the emigration law, there were effectively no impediments for emigration from the USSR. Those wishing to go had gone, Laptev said, noting that more than 450,000 people emigrated last year alone.

In this connection Schifter raised the issue of so-called refuseniks—Soviet nationals denied exit visas because of their knowledge of state secrets. There were some 20 such people left, according to him. Schifter asked for assistance to resolve their cases.

Laptev familiarised him with the basic provisions of the draft law on emigration. He added that the government was simultaneously working on a comprehensive programme to implement the law. The programme will be submitted to parliament in May.

Fitzwater Denies Summit Set for June

PM2404133591 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Apr 91 p 1

[TASS report: "White House Statement"]

[Text] Washington, 23 Apr—The White House declared today that no date has as yet been set for the next Soviet-U.S. summit and that the situation in this respect remained unchanged.

Speaking at a White House briefing, Marlin Fitzwater, the U.S. President's press secretary, when asked to comment on the remark by V. Ignatenko, the USSR president's representative, that the meeting will probably take place in June said: "I have been asked about a report from the Soviet Union that the summit is planned for June. As far as we know, the answer to this is—no. From our viewpoint the situation remains unchanged. We are continuing to discuss this with them, and for the time being nothing has been decided." Fitzwater added that he had specially spoken to the President that morning and "asked the President whether there was any new development in respect of the summit and the President had replied—no."

Prospects for Grain Imports From U.S. Viewed

LD2404170291 Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] The Soviet Union may increase grain and fodder imports from the United States if the administration agrees to provide new credits. Here is a comment written by Vladislav Kozyakov:

Moscow and Washington are both silent on the size of credits and imports, but reports say that the figure is much in excess of a 1 billion [currency not specified] loan announced by President Bush last December. The Soviet Union is eager to use new credits for imports of U.S. wheat, maize, and soya beans as soon as possible.

The Soviet Union's request for loans is caused by its economic crisis. The Americans may well hear more about it from a Russian delegation now touring the United States, with Russia's Prime Minister Mr. Ivan Silayev leading it.

Soviet wheat imports are also under discussion. For fairness' sake the question is not one of aid or charity, because the loans will have to be serviced sooner or later, something that raises no doubts.

U.S. farmers meanwhile can sell whatever wheat they have in excess. Mr. Bush's decision on a new credit line to the Soviet Union last December was met with approval by the U.S. business world. American farmers saw the chance of resolving their problems on improving competitiveness against other wheat producers in the world market.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER had indicated that the administration and the farmers were no less keen to increase wheat exports than the Soviet Union to boost its grain imports. Mr. (?Jerry Azinowski), who is in charge of the National Association of Industrialists, said normalization of trade with the Soviet Union, including new credit lines, may result in huge profits for farmers at the cost of grain exports.

In the absence of an agreement between wheat producers and the complicated situation in agricultural markets, U.S. farmers are as much eager as a few months ago to see wider trade between the two countries.

More importantly, bilateral trade is always a good indicator of a state of bilateral relations. In recent years, the superpowers have cooperated successfully in the international arena in areas such as arm controls agreements, political stabilization in Europe, and a UN-sponsored multinational force to combat the Iraqi aggression. All of this made it look more like a two-lane traffic.

There still remains a backlog of issues where superpower cooperation is most needed. Last week the U.S. Finance Minister Mr. Nicholas Brady told the Soviet Prime Minister Mr. Valentin Pavlov that the administration was hoping to find a positive solution soon for a new credit line for Soviet imports of U.S. goods. This will no doubt meet the interests of both sides.

China

Jiang Zemin Official Visit Scheduled 15 May

LD2504162191 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] It has been announced in Moscow that the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Jiang Zemin, who is also chairman of the Central Military Council, will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union between 15 and 19 May. It seems conditions are favorable at present for a fruitful trip of the Chinese top official to this country. Aleksey Kondratyev now comments:

True, conditions for the visit are very good. One can describe the current stage of relations between the two countries as a period of intensive restoration of the various contacts that existed between the Soviet Union and China in the first 10 years after the formation of the Chinese People's Republic. And not only restoration, but development of cooperation and contacts in new areas.

A breakthrough in Soviet-Chinese relations occurred two years ago following Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China. Today one can state with satisfaction that a long distance has been covered since then. The mechanisms regulating economic cooperation between the two countries have been restored. Political contacts at interstate and interparty levels have been normalized. But the main result of the two year-long restoration period is the revival of an atmosphere of trust between Moscow and Beijing. It is obvious that without it, it would be unthinkable to overcome the grim consequences of a not-so- distant confrontation between the two countries practically along all the line.

At present Soviet-Chinese contacts are free from any attempts at moralizing or showing ambitions. They develop in a businesslike and practical spirit on the basis of mutual respect and benefit. Moscow and Beijing no longer interfere in the affairs of each other and respect the choice of the Soviet and Chinese people.

There is probably no need to speak at length about the impact of the Soviet-Chinese factor on international affairs. Hardly anyone would deny that the normal development of contacts between the two states in Asia with large territories and an impressive population introduces a weighty stabilizing element into international relations and into stability in the Asian-Pacific region above all.

In his speech in the Japanese parliament Mikhail Gorbachev underlined that the Soviet Union and China were the first countries in Asia to have taken practical steps toward reducing their armed forces and promoting confidence-building measures on the border. Moreover, peace and stability are being restored in the vicinity of the lengthy frontier between the two countries having nuclear weapons in their arsenals [sentence as heard].

Moscow and Beijing have been successful in meeting each other halfway in the work of restoring goodneighborly relations and promoting mutual contacts and better understanding. There's every reason to believe that the continuation of top-level Soviet-Chinese contacts in Moscow will give a fresh impetus to the desire to meet each other halfway.

Commentary on Upcoming Visit

OW2604065591 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Commentary by Kondrayev]

[Text] According to a Moscow announcement, Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the Central Military Commission, will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union from 15 May to 19 May. We asked our station commentator Kondrayev: People say that this is the best time for the Chinese distinguished guest to visit the Soviet Union. What do you think?

The commentator answered: Present conditions are indeed very good. While the two countries are enthusiastically restoring the comprehensive and close relations of the first 10 years after the founding of the PRC, they also want to open up new areas of cooperation. When Gorbachev was visiting China two years ago, people discussed the possibility of a breakthrough in Sino-Soviet relations. Now we are glad to point out that during that short period, a lot has been accomplished by

the two countries—economic cooperation has been resumed and political relations have been restored between the governments and the parties.

I believe that a major achievement of the last two years is the restoration of trust between Moscow and Beijing. It is very obvious that without trust, it would be impossible for the two countries to have so quickly overcome the consequences of many years of confrontation. Sino-Soviet relations today are entirely different from what they were during those years. Having improved their relations, Moscow and Beijing now adhere to the principles of mutual respect, mutual benefits, and noninterference with each other's internal affairs. They are taking the roads selected by their people. I am not making a presumptuous remark; I am talking about the genuine condition of bilateral relations.

Sino-Soviet relations have a bearing on international affairs. No one can deny this or the fact that the normalization of relations between the two Asian countries with such a large area of land and large population plays a major stabilizing role in international relations, particularly in relations among Asia-Pacific countries.

Gorbachev pointed out in his recent speech to the Diet of Japan: The Soviet Union and China are taking concrete steps to achieve mutual disarmament in Asia and build mutual trust concerning their border regions. I should add that the two nuclear nations are restoring peace and stability along their borders. It is obvious that the efforts made by Moscow and Beijing to restore good- neighborly relations, to develop and deepen their relations, and to enhance further their mutual understanding have achieved good results.

In conclusion, the station commentator pointed out: We now have every reason to hope that the forthcoming Sino-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow will further accelerate these processes.

PRC Delegation Arrives for Border Talks

LD2504192291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 April (TASS)—A Chinese government delegation headed by Tian Zengpei, a deputy foreign minister of the PRC, arrived in Moscow today for the next round of Soviet-Chinese talks on border issues.

IZVESTIYA Reports Talks

PM2504145391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 91 Moscow Edition p 4

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] The third round of Sino-Soviet talks on reciprocal cuts in armed forces and military confidence-building measures in the border zone was held in Moscow 4-18 April.

The exchange of opinions, which took place, as usual, in a spirit of constructive cooperation, has made it possible to deepen mutual understanding and helped extend areas of agreement.

Northeast Asia

Refusal To Hand Islands To Japan Viewed

PM2504154191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 91 p 3

[A. Vasilyev article under the "Version" rubric: "Why Gorbachev Did Not Give the Islands Back"]

[Text] The propaganda campaign mounted by the Japanese government and the Japanese press on the eve of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to that country was unprecedented. Its aim was to convince the Soviet leadership, diplomats, and representatives of the mass media—and through them public opinion, too—that the "Northern Territories" must be given back.

Let us give the Japanese their due: The psychological pressure was so powerful that the aim was partially achieved. Issue after issue in the democratic press carried articles whose authors tried to prove that the "new thinking" and commitment to general humanist principles require that Moscow take this step. No, not for free, of course: The credits that we would receive and the readiness of Japan's business circles—provided that the islands were transferred—to cooperate with us should give the Soviet Union tangible help in restoring its economy.

It reached the point where information leaks began to appear in press, citing "circles close to Gorbachev" to the effect that during the visit the USSR president really intended selling the islands.

Here it would seem that the logic of the confrontation between "right" and "left" in domestic politics had dictated a plan of conduct in the international arena, too. Furthermore, any move by M.S. Gorbachev would have aroused criticism from some political forces. A refusal to transfer the islands would have given the democrats evidence that the Kremlin was finished with the "new thinking" and was taking a turn to the right in Soviet foreign policy. Any concession to the Japanese would have caused indignation in the conservative-populist camp along the lines of: "They are selling Russia out!"

B.N. Yeltsin's position is even more complex. As the recognized leader and hope of the democratic forces he, theoretically, should speak in favor of transferring the islands to Japan. But as a politician laying claim to the Russian Presidency he could run into a negative reaction from the "voting populace."

Both Gorbachev and Yeltsin understood perfectly well all the positive and negative aspects of any solution to the "Northern Territories" question. The USSR president kept his plans secret until the visit itself. The

Russian leader preferred to act and his actions, furthermore, were contradictory in character.

In January last year B.N. Yeltsin paid a private visit to Japan. He was preceded there by another leader of the democratic forces—Yuriy Afanasyev— who spoke unambiguously for a solution of the "Northern Territories" problem in favor of the Land of the Rising Sun. Boris Nikolayevich put forward his own plan for settling the territorial dispute which was subsequently dubbed the "Yeltsin plan" and which presumed the following steps: the Soviet Union's recognition of the existence of the problem as such; the demilitarization of the disputed islands; their joint development; and the creation of a free economic zone. Point five presupposed leaving a final decision on the ownership of the "Northern Territories" to future generations.

I would recall here that B.N. Yeltsin was an "ordinary" USSR people's deputy then. When he became chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet the Japanese might have expected the "five points" to become Russia's official position on the "Northern Territories." Essentially that is what happened: For a while the "five points" were the Russian Foreign Ministry's guide to action. It is a different matter that actions were not needed; the Japanese preferred to discuss their problems with M.S. Gorbachev, not with B.N. Yeltsin.

As for the Kremlin and Smolensk Square [Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations], they spent virtually all last year trying not to express a definite view on the "Northern Territories" problem. Meanwhile, strenuous thinking was going on there: Diplomats and academics proposed the most varied options, plans, and so forth. Among other things they also studied the "Yeltsin plan." However, until virtually late fall-early winter the Union Foreign Ministry refused to cooperate with its Russian colleagues on any foreign policy problems, including those in the sphere of relations with Japan.

That cooperation began in December 1990 when Russian diplomats began to be invited to consultations on questions of foreign policy planning with representatives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. The Russians also participated in the preparation for the visit of Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama and in drafting the documents for A.A. Bessmertnykh's trip to Tokyo.

Meanwhile, Japanese official representatives regarded Russian diplomats with both interest and caution. To all appearances they were trying to work out with whom it was more beneficial for them to cooperate—with Yeltsin, who had put forward at least some kind of plan for a settlement of the "Northern Territories" problem a year ago, or with Gorbachev, who had no plan.

Then an event occurred which seemed to give the Japanese enough information to take a final decision: B.N. Yeltsin's speech in Kaliningrad.

It, of course, had a domestic political thrust. Yeltsin's unambiguous support for the national governments of the Baltic in their conflict with the center lost him the support of a section of the Russian-speaking population of those republics. In Kaliningrad, however, people had begun to fear that Boris Nikolayevich would hand the oblast over to the Balts. This is why the Russian leader stated in a speech there: We will not hand over an inch of Russian land.

The next day staffers at the Japanese Embassy in Moscow and Japanese journalists bombarded the Russian Foreign Ministry with telephone calls: Did the reference to an "inch" of land mean that B.N. Yeltsin had changed his position on the "Northern Territories"? Of course the speech in Kaliningrad had not been coordinated with the Russian foreign policy department, and Yeltsin and his immediate entourage hardly imagined that it would have such an effect. Staff at the RSFSR Foreign Ministry had to use all their diplomatic abilities to get out of this tricky situation. The task was complicated all the more by the fact that, as usual, they did not have sufficient information.

It was precisely after B.N. Yeltsin's Kaliningrad speech that the Japanese, by all accounts, decided to back M.S. Gorbachev, particularly as, in the first place, Tokyo is in no way seeking the USSR's disintegration into separate states and, in the second, it doubts in principle whether the Russian leadership has sufficient power to carry out its commitments.

In the runup to the USSR president's visit to Tokyo professionals from the Union and Russian foreign policy departments jointly elaborated the Soviet side's stance at the talks and reached agreement on all points: to acknowledge officially that the problem of the territorial dispute exists; not to hand back the islands; and to create a mechanism for talks on this problem as quickly as possible. Which is what was presented to the Japanese side.

B.N. Yeltsin was briefed on the USSR position in advance and he agreed with it. The composition of the delegation, particularly the Russian representatives, was also discussed with him. Yeltsin raised objections only to one nomination—Boris Isayev, his own deputy chairman and one of the well-known "six" who are in opposition to Boris Nikolayevich. However, Mikhail Sergeyevich considered that he had the right to choose his own company on long trips, particularly as Isayev was not included in the main body of the delegation, conducted himself modestly, and did not seek to represent Russian interests. The main body of the delegation did include from the RSFSR Andrey Kozyrev, its foreign minister, and N.N. Danilyuk, chairman of the Khabarovsk Kray Soviet.

Interestingly, Russia proposed to Japan that an agreement on trade in consumer goods be signed during the visit; however, Tokyo refused, giving preference again to the USSR. Therefore, although A.V. Kozyrev did sign

Letters of Exchange on trade in consumer and other goods between the Far Eastern regions of the USSR and Japan, he did so "on behalf of" the government of the Soviet Union.

While Gorbachev was in Japan, B.N. Yeltsin was on a private visit to France. According to well-informed sources, the RSFSR Foreign Ministry took no part at all in preparing the visit, which resulted in its failure. At the last minute RSFSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.V. Fedorov was included in the delegation, and thanks to him several—although not all—unpleasant moments were avoided.

Boris Yeltsin's statement in Strasbourg that he had...his own plan for settling the problem of the "Northern Territories" came as a surprise to the Soviet delegation in Tokyo. It is clear that the statement was made out of purely domestic political considerations: To all appearances, Yeltsin was bent on showing that he was capable of resolute action at the time that Gorbachev had arrived in Japan with a strong stance—not to hand back the islands.

But in diplomacy the lack of a result is also a result.

Why did Moscow reject the idea of rushing through a solution of the territorial dispute with Japan?

Politicians and diplomats of the highest rank argued as follows: Credits obtained from Japan in exchange for the islands would simply evaporate anyway, because the Soviet Union lacks as yet the necessary prerequisites to make effective use of them. So that overall it makes no difference to us whether Japan gives us credit or not.

On the other hand, the exchange of the islands for pots of money is a one-time act. Where is the guarantee that, once Japan has obtained what it wants, it will wish to continue cooperating with us? The gap between the Soviet and Japanese economies is so great that, in the opinion of many specialists, the Land of the Rising Sun has already lost interest in large-scale cooperation with the Land of the Soviets. The two countries could have cooperated successfully in the early seventies, and the Japanese were ready for that, but "dark forces"—the United States—hindered this. Then the energy crisis erupted, which made Japan switch to energy-saving technologies, which it shows no sign of regretting so far. So our coal, oil, and hemp are simply not needed there. If Japanese businessmen were really interested in cooperating with the USSR, they would have beaten a very swift path to us and forgetten about the "Northern Territories."

So what happens now? The information we have allows the conclusion to be drawn that the Soviet Union now wishes to start talks more quickly and hopes that a stance will take shape in the course of them.

Here Soviet diplomats consider that if any progress at all is to be made Japan must abandon its peremptory demand that the USSR first recognize Japanese sovereignty over the islands. The Foreign Ministries—both Union and Russian—consider that talks would then have no point at all, since it would only be necessary to discuss the procedure for handing over the islands.

During future contacts with Tokyo Moscow will seek two objectives. First, to "overturn" the Japanese demands and impose terms on them that are advantageous to us—initially economic cooperation, aid, and so forth—and then we will see. Second, to make Tokyo give up blocking all the Soviet Union's foreign policy initiatives in the Asia-Pacific region as, according to specialists, the Japanese are actively using their economic and political influence in that region of the world to do right now.

The next stage of Soviet-Japanese talks is Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu's visit to Moscow, planned for this August. Clearly no progress should be expected from the visit. Moreover, some diplomats think that it may not take place at all, since too little time remains. Even for the Tokyo government to modify its position....

Mongolia's Tsedenbal Dies

PM2504150991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 91 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Demise of Yu. Tsedenbal"]

[Text] Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal died in Moscow 20 April aged 74 after a long and serious illness. For many years he headed the Mongolian People's Republic state and political leadership.

Yu. Tsedenbal was born into a poor stockbreeder's family in 1916. In 1938 he graduated from the Irkutsk Finance and Economy Institute. From 1940-1954 and 1958-1984 he was general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee. He also held leading posts in the Mongolian Government and subsequently in the Mongolian People's Great Hural. He retired in 1984.

Tsedenbal's activity is indissolubly linked with a significant stage in Mongolia's development and with all the achievements and unpleasant aspects of this stage.

The Soviet Union rated highly Tsedenbal's contribution to Mongolia's cooperation with our country during the difficult years of World War II and the two countries' close collaboration in subsequent decades.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat expresses condolences to the deceased's family and friends.

Yazov Commemorates DPRK Army Anniversary

PM2504130791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[Message from USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov "To Comrade Vice Marshal of the Korean People's Army O Chin-u, DPRK Minister of the People's Armed Forces"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces I congratulate you and the personnel of the Korean People's Army on the 59th anniversary of its formation.

I am sure that the traditional cooperation between our countries and armies will continue to develop for the benefit of the Soviet and Korean peoples, in the interests of peace and stability in the Asian and Pacific region.

I wish you, esteemed Comrade Minister, and all Korean servicemen successes in consolidating your motherland's defense capability.

Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

TASS Views Cambodia Settlement Prospects

LD2504172491 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS news analyst Sergey Afonin]

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—A lull may descend on Cambodia from May 1, but only if the warring parties support rather than pay lip service to the call for a voluntary ceasefire, which was issued by France and Indonesia, the co-chairmen of the Paris international conference on Cambodia, jointly with the U.N. secretary-general.

At present there is to be a temporary cessation of hostilities starting from the beginning of May until the meeting ends between the co-chairmen of the international conference and members of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, which is scheduled to be held in Jakarta next month. The implementation of these measures would be of practical importance to a political settlement of the conflict.

The state of Cambodia has long since proposed that the opposition forces cease hostilities and sit down at the negotiating table. This idea has now been put on the international agenda.

Much depends on the forthcoming meeting in Jakarta. Pyongyang stated its readiness to participate in this forum without putting forth any pre-conditions. The meeting will focus on the discussion around a package of draft documents elaborated by the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and the co-chairmen of the Paris conference.

Politicians in various countries think that these documents can serve as a real foundation for a comprehensive political solution of the Cambodian problem. This was emphasised, for instance, by Cambodian Foreign Minister Hor Namhong and Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh during their recent talks in Moscow.

The two foreign ministers stated that the settlement process should proceed strictly in accordance with the U.N. charter, the sovereignty of the Cambodian people, their lawful interests and the right to free self-determination be respected and the guarantees against the restoration of the genocide regime be ensured.

For the present, however, the opposition Cambodian groups, primarily the Pol Pot supporters, are stepping up combat operations, which are strongly rebuffed by government troops.

One week is to go before May 1.

SRV's Le Mai's Recent Bangkok Visit Viewed

BK2604045691 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1200 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Commentary by station observer (Kirin Mikhailov) on "The Outcome of Vietnamese Vice Foreign Minister Le Mai's Recent Visit to Bangkok"]

[Text] The recent visit to Thailand of the Vietnamese vice foreign minister was seen as a preparation for a summit conference unprecedented in the history of the two countries' relations. This summit conference was previously scheduled for last February but was postponed due to the military coup in Thailand.

With a new government already set up in Bangkok, initial political and diplomatic steps taken by this government clearly show that developing friendly relations with neighboring Indochinese countries remains one of the main orientations of Thai diplomacy.

The talks held by Mr. Le Mai in Bangkok also testified to this fact. The two sides discussed not only their bilateral relations but also the establishment of organizations and appropriate regulations. These issues may materialize at higher-level meetings.

The two sides also reached an agreement on setting up a coordinating committee for the development of trade and economic relations between the two countries. Evidently, the founding of this organ will meet the needs of their increasingly positive bilateral economic cooperation.

The above talks in Bangkok also dealt with the Cambodian issue. Undoubtedly, the resolution of the Cambodian issue will depend greatly on Vietnam and Thailand.

Hanoi has close relations with the Phnom Penh government while Bangkok maintains in close contact with the opposing Khmer faction. With such a balance of forces, the past few years have seen tension mounting in the countries' bilateral relations. Now that the situation has changed, the two sides have emphasized their mutual concern over the need to move toward achieving a peaceful solution to Cambodia and expressed their desire to make their contributions to this process. Thus, there are grounds to believe that the forthcoming meeting between the two prime ministers of Vietnam and Thailand will be not only an important event in the countries' bilateral relations but also an important contribution to bringing about progress for the restoration of peace in Cambodia.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Commentary Views Progress on Angolan Peace

91UF0663A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by V. Vinogradov under the rubric "Commentator's Column": "Negotiations to the Sound of Artillery Fire"]

[Text] For more than two weeks now, eight battalions of the antigovernment group UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], trained some time ago by South African instructors and advisers, have been attacking continuously the positions of the People's Armed Forces of the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) in the vicinity of Luena, the administrative center of Moxico Province, with a view to seizing it. In the words of Chief of the Operations Department of the FAPLA General Staff Colonel Ijinu Carneiro Lopes, who spoke in Luanda at a press conference for local and foreign journalists, combat operations of UNITA infantry are being supported by artillery and mortar fire, which is mainly killing peaceful citizens and destroying residential and administrative buildings. He also communicated that weapons and ammunition are being delivered to the insurgents from the territory of Zaire, and American and South African markings are being found on most of them.

The battle in the vicinity of Luena, an important strategic point situated 800 kilometers to the east of Luanda, is not the only one that UNITA is fighting these days against government troops. Continuous, fierce battles are being fought in the regions of Cuito Cuanavale and Menongue in Cuando Cubango Province. Yet, as an official representative of the government of the People's Republic of Angola stated in Luanda, despite the continuing attempts of UNITA to seize power in the country by military force, the government does not intend to recall its delegation from the negotiations that are under way in Portugal. He stated that the Angolan leadership will do everything possible in order to bring about the successful conclusion of the negotiations and to ensure durable and just peace in Angola.

Angola needs this kind of peace badly. Sixteen years of continuous warfare foisted on the Angolan people by the UNITA group have literally bled the country white, putting it in a most difficult economic situation. This is why Luanda, in the words of President of the People's Republic of Angola Eduardo dos Santos, has taken "a flexible and constructive position" at the negotiations and is prepared to facilitate their favorable outcome. This is precisely the reason why yet another round of negotiations concerning the issue of a peaceful settlement in Angola, which began as early as 4 April in the Lisbon suburb of Estoril, is still in progress. After all, a round of talks usually lasts three to five days, or even less. However, this time the Angolan side is determined to secure specific results on such key issues as setting a ceasefire date and a related date for holding general elections in Angola, even if this takes a month or more.

All available resources and means are being used to this end. Plenary meetings are being held behind closed doors with the participation of Portuguese mediators, observers, experts representing the Soviet Union and the United States, and a UN representative (incidentally, he has been used in these negotiations for the first time). Political and military commissions are meeting. The Angolan and UNITA delegations are communicating. The latter fact is highly significant for the still belligerent parties.

Due to all of the above, there has been progress, albeit slow, toward an accord: The positions of the sides are gradually drawing closer together. Some hope is appearing that a ceasefire agreement will be reached. In this case, peace in Angola, even if fragile, may be established very soon.

East Europe

General on Withdrawal From Eastern Europe

LD2404230891 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] The Soviet Union continues pulling out its troops from East European countries. This fact poses quite a few questions. Our reporter has turned with some of them to the first deputy head of the Chief Military and Political Department of the Soviet Armed Forces [title as heard], General Aleksandr Ovchinnikov. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from East European countries proceeds in accordance with plan. The pulling out of troops from Czechoslovakia and Hungary is drawing to a close. The first combat units are being moved out of Poland; the issue is under review concerning a total withdrawal of troops from that country. The most powerful Soviet Army grouping stationed in Germany is expected to be withdrawn from that country by the end of 1994. When asked if the Soviet Army Command felt that the withdrawal of troops could destabilize the situation and undermine the Soviet Union's security, Gen Ovchinnikov explained:

[Begin Ovchinnikov recording in Russian fading to English translation] I think, Gen. Ovchinnikov said, we should develop a well-guarded and calm attitude to the return of Soviet troops back home. This is no tragedy at all. The long-standing presence of Soviet troops was not the best way of stabilizing the situation in Europe and all over the world. When troops are stationed on foreign territory, this is always unreasonable. The fact that they are now returning home is the right thing.

But it also has its negative aspects. Two of them can be singled out: material and technical, and political and military. As far as the material and technical aspect is concerned, Gen. Ovchinnikov said, we are not prepared for the deployment of the troops coming back from Eastern Europe. To deploy hundreds of thousands of people; provide them with housing; and build other infrastructures, such as schools, kindergartens, sports facilities, and shops—that's all what is needed for normal existence—is not an easy thing. But all these difficulties can be overcome.

The political and military aspect of the withdrawal is much more complicated, the general said, and he continued: We would like, the first deputy head of the Soviet Chief Military and Political Department said, other countries to begin along with us a steady and simultaneous withdrawal of their troops from Europe. I mean the United States, for example. The general believes that since the military organization of the Warsaw Treaty ceased to exist, NATO could do the same with its corresponding structure. It's time, Gen. Ovchinnikov said in conclusion, to bring the policy of confrontation to a stop and embark on a dialogue. It's time to expand economic and cultural contacts. The Soviet Armed Forces engaged in the planned withdrawal of troops from Eastern Europe have every right to count on reciprocal actions of the countries—members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. [end recording]

Polish Position on Troop Withdrawal Criticized

PM2604085091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 91 Second Edition p 7

[Interview with Colonel General V.P. Dubynin, commander of the Northern Group of Forces, by Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov, attributed to USSR Defense Ministry Press Center, under the rubric "On the Soviet Troop Withdrawal From Poland"; date, place not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction: "Bill for... Liberation?"]

[Text] The number of Soviet troops stationed in central Europe is diminishing daily. Units and subunits of the Central, Southern, and Western Groups of Forces are returning to the motherland from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Germany in accordance with the schedule and sometimes even ahead of it. It is now the turn of the Northern Group of Forces, stationed in Poland. The first train carrying the missile guards' brigade headed east from that country last week, thereby initiating the systematic withdrawal of the Northern Group of Forces. Colonel General V.P. Dubynin, commander of the Northern Group of Forces and the Soviet Government's plenipotentiary with regard to matters of the Soviet troops' presence in Poland, speaks about the complex problems directly associated with this event.

[Nikanorov] As is known, the Soviet and Polish Governments recently reached an accord to begin the systematic withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Polish territory 9 April this year. However, despite the fact that this withdrawal has already begun in practice, there is still no confirmed schedule for returning the group's units and subunits to the motherland. Could you explain the situation, Viktor Petrovich?

[Dubynin] Indeed, there is no schedule as yet. The thing is that the final deadline for the complete withdrawal of the Northern Group of Forces has not been agreed. Six rounds of Soviet-Polish talks on this problem have not yet resulted in a decisive breakthrough. We consider it reasonable and valid from the military, economic, and social viewpoints to complete the withdrawal in 1993. The Polish side is insisting on reducing this time. It is proposed that this question will finally be resolved during the Soviet-Polish top-level meeting due in the very near future.

I would like to emphasize once again that the time proposed by us was not picked out of thin air. It has been carefully thought out, reckoned up scrupulously, and compressed to the utmost. No one is disputing the fact that we must return to the motherland and build the protection and defense of the Soviet state inside our borders. In addition, in terms of many indicators it is simply economically ruinous for Soviet troops to be on the territory of modern Poland. It is time to lift this burden from the Soviet people.

But the troop withdrawal must be systematic. It must not look like a flight—something some people would like to push us into. We cannot abandon the considerable stocks of physical assets accumulated here. I will tell you that over the past 45 years we have constructed apartment blocks, barracks, equipment storehouses, and other structures here with a value of approximately 3 billion rubles. This is all the people's money, and of course we cannot give it up just like that.

[Nikanorov] Does the Polish side wish to receive all this as a gift?

[Dubynin] Unfortunately, it very much seems so. The negotiations over the transfer of the installations constructed and leased by us are proceeding with very, very great difficulty. The Polish side advances demands which are sometimes totally unacceptable to us. For example, this argument is used: Everything constructed on Polish soil is Polish property. In Swidnica, for example, they are refusing to accept 61 installations, evidently counting on ultimately getting everything for free. This is why it is very important to sign a treaty on

the final deadline for the troop withdrawal simultaneously and in indispensable linkage with an agreement on settling property and financial questions. Otherwise we could find ourselves in a situation where a pledge to leave within a certain time will compel us to leave behind considerable material assets without any compensation.

I must point out that we are trying to find the way out of a complex situation. For example, to turn immovable into movable property and realize it on the spot. However, the Polish authorities have virtually prohibited such trade. And yet the money made on the sale of used construction material, for example, could be used to equip subunits and units being withdrawn to our country's territory, sometimes almost to a bare site. I will remind you that tens of thousands of families of officers and ensigns of the Northern Group of Forces do not have apartments in the Soviet Union.

Incidentally, this is also a factor of considerable importance in determining the final troop withdrawal deadline. In what way, pray tell me, are our servicemen worse than British or French ones? And yet the British, in preparing to withdraw one division of approximately 10,000 men from Germany, plan to take two years to prepare the material base in their homeland and five years for the actual withdrawal. Is that sensible? Of course. Then neither combat readiness nor people will suffer. They will be able to calmly get on with their immediate work—questions of combat training.

[Nikanorov] Does it turn out that some people in Poland are reckoning on making a pretty packet out of our troop withdrawal?

[Dubynin] Judge for yourself. The Polish side is now trying hard to raise for discussion the question of changing the status of our troops' stay in the country. At the same time it is maintained that the activities of our troops have caused tremendous harm to the environment during more than 45 postwar years. According to their plans, we must pay compensation for this detriment—during the whole time of the group's stay in the country, moreover. I will cite an example. We currently pay to lease buildings, many of which used to belong to the Germans, we pay for municipal services, and we buy food and other material items. We settle up in full. But now they are demanding that we pay also for the land on which are sited military camps, airfields, test ranges, etc.

At the same time we must, apparently, pay for the harvest not gathered from these lands in conformity with the average yield in the country (Last year this stood at approximately 37 quintals per hectare for grain crops). And they propose to levy payment not as of this year but from 1945. It is proposed that we pay for the use of roads over the same period, for the coal burned in boiler houses, and even for every person living in a military camp. The list of points on which they would like to exact payment from us—in hard currency, of course—is very extensive. The amounts would be expressed in figures with nine zeroes. To make things clear, I have made these calculations: If we agreed to such terms, then Belorussia, for example, would have to work for 10-15 years just for Poland.

[Nikanorov] In advancing such frankly excessive demands with regard to both the timing of the withdrawal and material settlements, the Polish side frequently refers to colossal pressure from public opinion in the country.

[Dubynin] I do not believe that there are any real grounds for these references. As far as I know, no more than 3 percent of the country's population espouses the extremely tough demands being made on us. We are not occupiers here, who have turned up because of someone's ill will. We came here as liberators. More than 600,000 Soviet servicemen fell fighting the Hitlerites on Polish soil. People remember that the territories on which the group is mainly stationed today were part of the fascist Reich before the war. But now almost one-third of Poland's population lives here. Someone today would very much like to expunge this from human memory.

We are now leaving Poland. We are leaving with a sense of a duty fulfilled, we are leaving with head held high and unfurled banners. We have nothing to be ashamed of.

Latin America

'Useless' Leftist Terrorist Actions Criticized

PY2504144491 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0200 GMT 23 Apr 91

[By Valentin Mashkin]

[Text] The Chilean Government has asked the courts to apply the State Security Law against an extreme leftist paramilitary group. We are talking about the so-called autonomous faction of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front [FPMR] which in 1987 split from the main group without changing its name. This means that there are currently two FPMR groups, a fact to which we must give special attention because the main faction, which is also the largest, abandoned the armed struggle a long time ago. This faction recently published a declaration in which it publicly voiced its peaceful intentions.

We think this kind of declaration deserves praise, not just because terrorism is in itself immoral but because it increasingly reflects political impotence. In the special case of Chile, the activities of leftist extremists destabilize the situation and the civilian regime which merely a year ago replaced Pinochet's dictatorship. Chilean democracy is still too fragile all the time Pinochet continues to be chief of the land forces. There are many advocators of a new putsch among the military since the

dictatorship, which made the military very powerful, offered them great possibilities of becoming rich. Under these conditions, ultra-leftist terrorism may serve the military as an excellent excuse to stage a coup, and this would really represent another tragedy for the Chilean people.

The murder of Senator Jaime Guzman at the beginning of the month has unleashed a storm among rightist groups. Members of the Independent Democratic Union, of which Guzman was a leader, have staged demonstrations directly demanding Pinochet's return to power. Government officials suspect that Guzman was murdered by the FPMR, and this is why, as I said at the beginning of this commentary, the government has asked the courts to apply the State Security Law against the FPMR.

The time of ultra-leftist and ultra-rightist groups is gone, not only in Chile but in other countries—mainly in South America—like Colombia. People are arriving at the conclusion that terrorism is inefficient, absurd, and useless. Legal political struggle yields better results than a Molotov cocktail or bursts of machine-gun fire.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Debates, Adopts Youth Law

PM2504092191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by parliamentary correspondents A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev: "Law on Youth Adopted"]

[Text] On 16 April a joint sitting of the session of the country's Supreme Soviet discussed the draft law "on the general foundations of state youth policy in the USSR."

Let us recall that the discussion of the draft law at the second reading began a week ago, 8 April. At the time, as we have already described, the document received so many comments that the authors had to take a week's time out to make the necessary changes. To judge by the way the discussion proceeded this time, the time was not wasted. The version offered after further work met with virtually no remarks.

The law which was adopted contains an article which states to whom its operation extends. Initially the authors of the draft law suggested restricting the age of young people to 14 to 30. But, considering the remarks, they dropped the upper limit to 25. That was how the law was adopted. But after adoption I. Laptev, who was in the chair, read out a proposal from the committee for legislation and law and order that the former upper limit be restored. The initiators of the proposal motived it by the fact that if the 25-year limit is adopted we will have to change many legislative and normative acts in which a person under the age of 30 is deemed to be young and correspondingly to possess the right to some benefits.

Actually, benefits were the basic reason for debates lasting nearly an hour. After all, under the new law young people receive additional rights to social and economic aid. The opponents of increasing the age qualification—deputies A. Khomenyuk, A. Kryshkin, and L. Sukhov—said to back up their opinion that many of the state social programs which have already been adopted cannot be fulfilled because of the lack of funds.

Their opponents—deputies V. Tsybukh, V. Kucherenko, V. Mironenko, T. Ismailov, and others—tried to persuade their colleagues that this "rejuvenation" of young people apart from anything else contradicts world practice, impedes the development of international youth contacts, and, most importantly, harms primarily young families. After all, the result is that in rural areas, for instance, a young family loses the right to obtain a preferential credit to construct a house. And what about the tens of thousands of senior students and young specialists?

The arguments of the supporters of the early maturation of young people seemed very persuasive. On two occasions the proposal to raise the qualification was put to the vote and twice it failed to receive the necessary support. The chair had every grounds for halting the debates but, as was confirmed once again at this sitting, a person who is convinced of the correctness of his cause can accomplish the impossible. Formally the proposal was rejected but its authors and supporters continued to try to persuade their colleagues of the erroneousness of the decision which was taken. The proposal for an upper limit of 30 years of age was put to the vote a third time. And finally received a majority. Henceforth every citizen of our country under the age of 30 can legally consider himself a young man. And take advantage of the benefits envisaged in the law as of 1 July—when the law is brought into force.

We have already reported that the two previous sittings of the country's parliament were closed. There was a discussion of questions connected with the miners' strikes. A kind of echo of these debates was the statement read out by I. Laptev and signed by the chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Industry and Power Engineering, the Committee for Economic Reform, and the Commission of the Soviet of the Union for Labor and Social Policy—deputies V. Kurtashin, V. Vologzhin, and N. Gritsenko.

The USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commission, the statement says, are prepared at any time to examine in conjunction with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] parliamentary commission and the republics' interparliamentary commission questions of strikes and ways out of them. The delaying of the creation of an interparliamentary commission of republics and the deferment of the start of its work aggravate the country's already very grave position and are leading our economy right up to the borderline beyond which the irreversible processes of the national economy's collapse begin. Under these conditions the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commission are inviting interparliamentary commissions to begin dialogue as soon as possible.

At the proposal of the chair the Union parliament adopted a resolution expressing approval and support for their colleagues' initiative.

There was also support for Deputy S. Tsyplyayev's proposal to give a USSR Supreme Soviet assessment of the events taking place in Iraq. The Committee for International Affairs was instructed to analyze the situation.

But domestic problems perturbed the deputies noticeably more than international ones. Deputy V. Lisitskiy, for instance, voiced doubts as to whether the country's government has clear grounds for the price reform it is implementing. Criticizing the proposed system of compensations, he demanded that a parliament sitting hear a report from the prime minister on the progress of the reform of price formation. In turn Deputy A. Chekhoyev asked A. Lukyanov a question—why, counter to the demands of the "Soyuz" group, does the plan for parliament's work for the next week issued to the deputies not provide for a discussion of the Union Treaty?

The country's Cabinet of Ministers, A. Lukyanov said, will be given instructions to include the question of the reform of price formation in the government report on the anticrisis program. Switching then to the topic of the Union Treaty, the speaker informed the participants in the sitting that on 15 April a sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had discussed in detail how the Union Treaty will be examined in the country's parliament. It was decided to give all Supreme Soviet committees and commissions 10 days to elaborate remarks and proposals on the draft Union Treaty. The proposals and remarks will be generalized and the conclusions reported to the USSR Supreme Soviet by the commission headed by R. Nishanov. A. Lukyanov stressed that as soon as these conclusions are formulated they will immediately be submitted for examination by the union parliament.

A sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium also carefully discussed the question of how the Union Treaty will be adopted and what will happen after its adoption, A. Lukyanov continued. You know, he noted, that there are certain forces in the country which suggest that after the treaty has been adopted all union structures be abolished. In this connection the speaker drew his colleagues' attention to the USSR president's proposal made during the recent sittings of the Federation Council—after the signing of the Union Treaty that treaty should be the basis of the elaboration of a new USSR Constitution and correspondingly a new electoral law. It seems to me, A. Lukyanov continued, that the new USSR Constitution should be elaborated and worked on primarily deep within this operating USSR Supreme Soviet and be submitted for examination by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies of this convocation.

Naturally, until the Constitution enters into force, until new organs of state power are elected on the basis of a new electoral law, all the state structures of the USSR will exist. Otherwise the continuity of state power in the country will be disrupted.

On 17 April the work of the fifth session took place in separate chamber sittings. In the morning the Soviet of the Union under the chairmanship of I. Laptev set about examining the question of urgent measures to enhance the role of the prosecutor's office in strengthening legality in the country.

Lukyanov Meets With RSFSR Deputies

PM2504123991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[ROSTASS report: "Meeting in the Kremlin"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met with RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies representing the "Rossiya" group yesterday.

There was an earnest and frank discussion. The situation in the country was discussed, ways of ensuring cooperation between the "Rossiya" group and USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions were outlined, and joint work on draft laws was planned.

Meeting participants S. Baburin, N. Vedernikov, B. Lisin, V. Mazayev, N. Pavlov, V. Sokolov, and L. Shipovalova, RSFSR people's deputies and members of the "Rossiya" group coordinating committee, were unanimous: Such meetings help to provide a better mutual acquaintance and understanding and play a positive role in strengthening ties between the Russian and Union parliaments. This, in their opinion, is another, albeit small, step toward ending the "war of laws" which is so hindering the effective work of the two Supreme Soviets.

Panel Examines Mobilization Readiness

PM2504085391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Questions of Mobilization Readiness Examined"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee, with the participation of interested ministries and other central organs of state management and people's deputies of the USSR and the Union republics, examined at its regular sitting 19 April the state of the country's mobilization readiness.

Appeal on Lenin Anniversary Issued

PM2504134591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Appeal: 'To People's Deputies From Soviets at All Levels'"]

[Text] Our Esteemed Compatriots and People's Deputies!

The twenty-second day of April is the birth anniversary of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, founder of the Soviet state. The 121st anniversary of the day of his birth gives us cause once again to glance over and ponder the road our country has traveled, and focus on the fundamental questions of renewing our society.

Lenin is undoubtedly the greatest historical personality of the series of Russian reformers, as he was the theoretician and founder of a new social order and a new type of state.

In times of change, attitudes toward historical figures grow complex. But one thing is sure—Lenin was a thinker and an organizer, consistently and steadfastly fighting for the progress of society, and a true patriot and internationalist.

For six years after the revolution he put much physical and spiritual effort into defending the young Soviet

republic, and into battling with ruin and famine. Along with this he made a great contribution to the development of democracy, statehood, the new economic policy, and the theory and practice of solving interethnic problems. It is not his fault that in the period that followed Leninist ideas were subjected to gross distortion, transforming the Union into a totalitarian state.

Today, the country is witnessing a difficult search for a way out of the crisis situation and for paths of transforming all spheres of life. It is very important that, while critically assessing the road we have traveled, we draw on what is valuable in Lenin's theoretical heritage and experience.

Lenin strove to preserve the country's unity through a totally voluntary federation of republics, unconditionally recognizing the peoples' right to self-determination all the way to secession. He acknowledged different types of federation with varying levels of contact between the national entities prepared to join the union, which would not impinge upon their independence but create "a new stage, a federation of equal republics." Lenin's idea of a federation is also the key to solving our contemporary problems.

The complexities of this critical stage in the country's life, the everyday difficulties, must not be allowed to undermine our confidence in the need for perestroyka, the democratic renewal of society, and the chance to build a rule-of-law state. We can ultimately overcome the crisis, restore and boost the economy, and harmonize interethnic relations. Only our good will and consistent and effective work within the confines of the law, not separatism and confrontation or the denial and blackening of history, will lead us to the goal which accords with the fundamental interests of all nations and will impart an additional fillip to the consolidation of the great multinational community of peoples on the basis of a new Union Treaty.

The USSR Supreme Soviet addresses and appeal to all people's deputies from soviets at every level to mark the 121st anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin—the organizer of the Soviet state—with the cohesion of all creative forces for the sake of the future of the peoples, the prosperity of citizens, and the happiness of our children!

[Signed] USSR Supreme Soviet.

Moscow, Kremlin, 17 April 1991.

Political & Social

Continued Reporting on CPSU Joint Plenum

Gorbachev Resignation Offer Rejected

LD2504185391 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, suggested his resignation from the post of the head of the party, but the Central Committee rejected the suggestion, Central Committee Secretary Valentin Falin reported at the press conference.

He "specified that today, at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee, many speakers strongly criticised the general secretary. Responding to their criticism, Gorbachev said that at the time when the leadership of the party and the country is facing the task of getting the country out of a crisis, it should rely on the confidence and support of party comrades, especially the Central Committee. If there are some doubts, he is ready to bring up the subject of his resignation from the post of general secretary, Gorbachev said.

During a break in the plenary meeting, the Central Committee Politburo met to discuss this problem. The Politburo decided unanimously to recommend the plenary meeting to remove from the agenda the item on Gorbachev's resignation.

At the plenary meeting 322 out of 349 its participants supported the Politburo recommendation, 13 voted against it and 14 abstained from voting.

Politburo member Aleksander Dzasokhov, who took part in the press conference, pointed out that Gorbachev "had acted in a most humane and sincere way, when he suggested his resignation."

The Central Committee plenary meeting is continuing its work.

Delegates View Gorbachev Offer

LD2504191491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Video report by correspondent S. Medvedev—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Medvedev] Today's plenary session began with fairly sharply worded speeches by members of the Central Committee, who criticized the actions and positions of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Events snowballed and just a few minutes before the interval, the general secretary took the floor and said that he is resigning.

The debate continued during the long interval. In fact it gave many delegates an opportunity to consider, in a calmer atmosphere, the events that had occurred at the plenum in the morning. [Video cuts to interviews with Central Committee members]

[Begin recording] [O.R. Latsis, first deputy editor in chief of KOMMUNIST] Quite a few speakers said that lack of confidence in the general secretary is widespread among the party grassroots. So, Mikhail Sergeyevich raised the question of his resignation. Both yesterday and today, and before the plenum, there were very many

statements like this, shifting the blame onto Gorbachev. Superficially, in terms of our old and, I would say, servile political tradition, they seem very bold, they are manifestations of great political boldness. I am not afraid of the general secretary, I am not afraid of the president. I am telling him the whole truth. This is what they seem to be saying. But such things would have been bold in the days when such statements would have been followed by some kind of punishment. Everybody knows perfectly well that these days such statements are only followed by a wave of political popularity for the person making the criticism.

[Medvedev] What is your position on the present and forthcoming debate?

[Latsis] You know, I consider that the work Gorbachev is obliged to take upon himself, in combining the posts of president and general secretary, is, unfortunately, indispensable. The attacks on him are, in my view, too much for the normal human psyche. It is amazing that he did not make such a statement far earlier. Therefore, I put it this way: He must be asked to withdraw his offer to resign.

[Medvedev] What are the possible consequences of his resignation?

[Latsis] For Gorbachev personally, you know, for his popularity as president, this would perhaps be very advantageous. For the party and for those who have chattered on about this, this could end very badly.

[Medvedev] Yevgeniy Sergeyevich, I believe that the Leningrad delegates are taking a common approach, because they are carrying out the instruction of their plenum. Please would you explain the viewpoint of your own delegation?

[Y.S. Krasnitskiy, Leningrad soviet deputy] In spite of the hardline nature of the position, we consider that our position is a constructive one. We do not...

[Medvedev, interrupting] Could you summarize it briefly?

[Krasnitskiy] In brief, yes. The program of extraordinary measures really is necessary because the situation is an extraordinary one. It must be based without fail on social security for the individual. Under no circumstances do we in the Communist Party have the right to extricate ourselves from a difficult situation at the expense of the working man. That is our position.

[Medvedev] What do you think of the general secretary's statement here about his possible resignation?

[Krasnitskiy] It cannot be allowed to happen. It would split the party. This is what our opponents are waiting for.

[V.V. Kalashnikov, dean of Leningrad electro-technical institute] Gorbachev is following the path outlined by the 28th congress. If something does not work out, that does not make him a criminal. Together we must seek correct solutions. The point is that we have strategic objectives. But so far we have made too many tactical mistakes.

[V.V. Grigoryev, chairman of Vitebsk Oblast, first secretary of oblast committee] In virtually every speech there was criticism of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Medvedev] Was that not hypocritical?

[Grigoryev] It is rather hard. The main accusation was that Mikhail Sergeyevich has not been taking steps to restore state and constitutional order in the country. But I think that this stream of criticism was, in many respects, unfair. Basically, all the misfortunes afflicting the country at the moment cannot be blamed on one set of shoulders. One individual cannot be blamed for everything. Basically, I think, the leaders of Soviet and party organs in local areas are also to blame for our present misfortunes and for the shortcomings in the implementation of perestroyka processes. I think that, in this respect, the party can and must do many things, above all in the sphere of social security, now that we are switching to market relations. Local party committees have done little in this area. Since they have done little, they should take a share of the blame and not shift the blame onto the general secretary. Gorbachev today must be both general secretary and president. [end recording]

[Medvedev] Most participants in the plenum came round to this point of view. In the country's supreme interests it was decided to remove the question of the general secretary's resignation from the subjects under consideration. For those who are keen on statistics, there were 13 votes against. Fourteen abstained. That is from among the almost 400 who took part in the voting.

Russian Radio on Resignation Offer

LD2504212391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of his intention to resign from the post of general secretary was heard like a bolt from the blue at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which ended in Moscow today. He said that he was tired of the endless criticism levelled against him and he held the fate of the party more dear than the post of top official in the CPSU.

After these words, probably not just the plenum participants but the country's communists and many nonparty people caught their breath, not to mention a corresponding reaction abroad.

It would not be wrong to say that those who heard this sensational news included quite a few supporters of the USSR president's leaving the post as the country's top communist, since in their view the combination of these posts is not working for the good of the people. Indeed academician Sakharov in his time called on Mikhail Gorbachev to quit the post of general secretary of the

CPSU Central Committee. He considered that the concentration of state and party power in one person's hands would lead to nothing good.

Well, after today's statement at the plenum, many people decided that at last the USSR president has prevailed over the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. But no. The question of the resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev, the party's general secretary, was nevertheless removed from the agenda of the CPSU Central Committee plenum. At a special meeting of the Politburo that took place during a break in the work of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, it was decided to propose to the plenum that the question of the general secretary's resignation be removed from the agenda.

This proposal was made by Vladimir Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. What was most interesting was that the overwhelming majority of the plenum's delegates immediately, without any debate, voted for this proposal by the Politburo, but, you know, we recall that over 70 percent of the speakers today had indeed sharply criticized Mikhail Gorbachev. Indeed, Ivan Polozkov, his counterpart in the Russian Communist Party, was not alone in demanding the immediate resignation of Gorbachev from the post of general secretary.

Considering all this, the question automatically arises of whether the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was sincere in his statement. One feels that he was, since it is impossible to suspect Mikhail Sergeyevich of sincerely wishing to leave such a high and honored post. So the USSR president will remain the general secretary—that is to say, everything will remain as before.

Party Not Keeping Check on Gorbachev

PM2604094591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 91 Second Edition p 3

["Account" of speech delivered by A.M. Anipkin, first secretary of Volgograd Oblast Party Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum on 24 April]

[Text] More and more communists are pondering the CPSU's present position. If you think about it, it is typical for a leading party in a collapsing society; that is, extremely invidious. How can we change it? Despite the complexity of the question, I will venture to make some suggestions. First, in my opinion, the party's status in our society's political structures and its relations with the president should be defined. I think that we should clearly spell out that the CPSU is the president's party in view of the fact that communists were victorious in the elections of USSR people's deputies and that the Central Committee general secretary has been elected president. That is precisely how all civilized countries with a multiparty system act. If we agree to that, we could define the party's two main functions—external and internal or intraparty.

Its external function is to back the president's course, the measures he proposes, his political, legal, economic, and other actions, and provide protection from opposition attacks. Its internal function is to adjust [korrektsia] the president's course. I mean that he should without fail consult with the party and with its leadership organs before adopting important decisions and discuss with party organizations the president's strategic plans before they are implemented. At present our party is virtually not performing either of these functions. As for adjusting the president' course, that is not happening at all. In my view, both sides are to blame for this. While not shrugging off all responsibility I would say that for some reason esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich has of late not thought it necessary to consult not only with his own party, but also with its Central Committee. Yet at the 28th CPSU Congress we proclaimed the authority of the party masses, and people remember that. An opinion that is increasingly establishing itself within the party is that Comrade Gorbachev does not need it, he has abandoned it, and he should be immediately removed from the post of general secretary. Recent decisions adopted by some party committees graphically attest to this. Let me say straightaway that I do not as yet share that opinion, in the hope that Mikhail Sergeyevich himself will take a constructive view of the critical comments. I think it more productive and farsighted today not that Comrade Gorbachev should resign, but that there should be real steps toward understanding on both sides. In order of course to ensure that the party does not represent a constant sword of Damocles looming over his head but a constructive mainstay, generating ideas and providing exacting criticism.

Lastly I think that the CPSU could be the one to organize a "roundtable" of political parties and movements. In my view, intellectual potential should be mobilized to a greater extent. To put it frankly, the intelligentsia has now forsaken the party. One of the reasons is that it does not feel that the CPSU needs it. We must try to combine the intellectual potential of various political movements because conflicts most often arise in areas of ignorance and lack of knowledge.

While resolving what can be resolved today, the party cannot exist without clearly defined strategic tasks. The more serious the crisis within society, the more it needs to define its ultimate objectives. In this connection, in the speaker's opinion, backing should be given to the idea of speeding up the formulation of the new party program and communists provided with extensive information about the progress of this work. The absence of program directives could bring about an inevitable split in the party—and in the very near future, moreover.

Pavlov Addresses CPSU Plenum

CM2604085391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 April 91 Second Edition pp 1,2

[Unattributed report of speech delivered at the CPSU joint plenum by Prime Minister Pavlov in Moscow on 25

April: "On the Situation in the Country and Ways of Getting the Economy Out of the Crisis. Report by USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov, Member of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! There is no more time now for endless discussions about what has caused the crisis situation in the country, who is to blame for it, and what the details of the long-term program of economic reforms are.

Life demands answers to the most important practical questions. What measures and what actions need to be implemented immediately with the view to beginning in a practicable way the stabilization of the economic and social situation in the country? What consequences can these actions entail? How can one best protect the interests of the working people and the socially vulnerable layers of the population?

The question that also arises is what forces can implement the measures mapped out, and how to unite all the public movements that stick up for public interests in actual fact, not in words, and which generally are concerned indeed for the homeland's future.

The Cabinet of Ministers has worked out its anticrisis program, and you have had an opportunity to familiarize yourselves with it. It has been reported to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and its basic provisions are being actively discussed in society. This makes it possible for me to speak with the utmost brevity, not going into the entire range of problems, but concentrating on what is of principle.

The CPSU is the largest and most influential political force in the country, and the success generally of the implementation of the measures that have been mapped out will depend to an enormous extent on its position and support for decisions that affect the destiny of the people. Before expounding the logic and the essence of the actions of the Cabinet of Ministers, I would like to give my own assessment of the situation in the country.

The political and economic situation continues to become aggravated and has reached a critical point. We are standing on the brink, and one incautious step, whether in the political or the economic field, is capable of leading to disaster. In principle the country is going through the collapse of the state structures. Executive power has been severely weakened. Discipline and law and order have reached the very lowest point. A "war" of sovereignties and laws is in full swing. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1358 GMT on 25 April adds: "The confrontation between political forces is taking on ever more bitter, basically unconstitutional, forms. The country is being shaken by bloody interethnic conflicts. Against this background crime has reached an unprecedented scale."]

The political crisis has become closely interwoven with the economic crisis, which is here and continues to deteriorate.

For us this is a new phenomemon, but unfortunately this is a reality. Taking into account the whole acute nature of the moment, I belive it would be advisable to once more dwell on certain basic manifestations of the economic crisis.

Today a slump in production has gripped virtually all branches of the economy, and the size of it is progressively growing. In the first quarter alone, produced national income fell by 10 percent. If this trend continues, then by the end of the year bankruptcy awaits us. Economic links are collapsing like an avalanche. In the January-March period alone in industry, there was a shortfall in deliveries to consumers under earlier concluded contracts of output worth more than 7 billion rubles [R]. The consumer market is disorganized, and the quality of life of the population is deteriorating—although sometimes it is generally difficult to understand how it could get any worse.

The finance-and-credit system is collapsing. In the first quarter, only R21 billion of revenue reached the Union budget out of a planned R55 billion. Thus the state is being deprived of the opportunity of implementing most important programs, first and foremost social programs.

While hard currency revenues have been reduced, repayments of foreign debts have increased sharply.

The structural crisis is making itself felt ever more strongly. Also linked with the structural deformation is the new phenomenon—or rather, one we have forgotten—of unemployment. We have all grown accustomed to counting it exclusively among the flaws of the capitalist system. If you apply international criteria in making assessments, then we already have two million unemployed. [TASS adds: "By western standards, this is considered to be the norm. But in our country such a process gives cause for alarm."]

I would now like to speak about another manifestation of the political and economic crisis—industrial and regional strikes. Last month 542 enterprises were on strike. Because of the miners' strikes alone, the direct and indirect losses in production over the month were in excess of R4 billion. Today, the majority of the strikers are putting forward extremist political demands, which are in the main essentially anticonstitutional, which is only aggravating the instability in society.

I think that each of us is constantly asking the question: why is all this taking place in our country at all? Why suddenly in our country—where it has always been stressed that man and his interests are at the center of policy—social, national, and political relations have become exacerbated to the extreme? After all, the party of communists has always said both in its program documents and practical activity that is expresses the interests of the working class, the peasantry, and all the working people.

The situation in the country and the duty of members of the leadership of the party, which has been in power for

over 70 years and has initiated perestroyka, require a conversation of utmost frankness, honesty, and impartiality.

It is obvious today that, when initiating perestroyka, we did not realize in full measure either the entire difficulty of the country's situation of the acuteness of the problems that had accumulated and the scale of changes that were required. The main thing is, perhaps, that we did not have qualitative reference points of the system toward which one had to advance. The real competence and interests of those people who were called upon to become the engine of perestroyka were not fully clear.

Naturally, it was impossible to draw up a detailed schedule of perestroyka in advance. A more thorough comprehension of the scale and nature of the forthcoming changes, however, would undoubtedly have made it possible for us to avoid many difficulties and mistakes. One can say that in the course of implementing both economic and political reforms in practice, too, both inconsistency and indecisiveness were shown. Sometimes we were late with certain measures or were too hasty with others.

Analyzing the years of perestroyka one willy-nilly comes to the conclusion that the party itself has lost vigilance. It failed to show the fighting qualities that were required in those most difficult conditions.

Against a background where other parties and currents are coming into being, which, while they might not yet be numerous, are operating in an enterprising manner and actively using the mass media and new forms of the political struggle, we have simply lost our way. The crisis in the party has dragged on, and that is dangerous.

It is perfectly obvious that it is impossible to overcome the economic crisis without first stabilizing the political situation. In conditions of confrontation among opposing political forces, when no compromise has been found and no one party enjoys the unqualified support and confidence of an overwhelming majority of the people, the execution of any economic policy, let alone one entailing the adoption of unpopular decisions, is extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, in an atmosphere where the situation in the economy is deteriorating day by day, we could not and cannot stand idly by. That is why the Cabinet of Ministers, after taking over control very recently, has performed a number of urgent measures. We have studied all the basic industries in detail and have adopted decisions aimed at insuring that they function normally. Measures have also been taken to normalize the consumer market and create conditions for carrying out the spring work in the fields. So far, the cabinet is managing to keep our finances and monetary circulation afloat. Thanks to this, there is a chance of continuing to implement social programs, albeit with enormous difficulty.

In essence the nature of these measures is extraordinary. At the same time, they lie along the course of progress toward a market. One of these measures has rocked the entire society. This concerns a fundamental reform of pricing. In adopting the decision about the reform, we understood, better than anyone else, that it wouldn't delight anybody. But to postpone the reform further—and I declare this with full responsibility—would be an unforgiveable mistake.

We all know well that the prevailing prices did not in the least reflect the true expenditures and prevented us from building correct economic relations. They were a distorting mirror which distorted the entire economic policy. It turned out that the more intensely and efficiently labor collectives worked, the greater loss they suffered as a result of their activity. This was so in the food and light industries, in the agrarian sector, in the extracting industries. The burden of subsidies exceeded R120 billion, that is nearly a quarter of the country's budget.

So dragging out the implementation of reform tightly closed the road to a normal, healthy economy. It was all this that brought us to the step that we decided on, accompanying it with the payment of compensation to the population.

Is it too little? Yes. Doesn't everyone get it? No. But I am prepared to sit down personally at the computer or the abacus with anyone at all, with any commission, with left-wingers, with right-wingers, with old or young. Let's work everything out and say everything honestly. If the state has anything that it can give away, let's give it away immediately. But the government cannot agree with the allegation that it has shifted the full burden of price reform onto the population. We may get something wrong, but we are not rogues. I have already said that we have so far been able to protect only the lowest-paid strata of the population. That was in accord with the dominant moods in society. We considered, firstly, that it was necessary to support the living standards specifically of pensioners, invalids, and large families. This approach could only be given effect at the expense of better-off social groups. Today they are objecting.

Although not much time has elapsed, nevertheless the reform even today has given a spur to the process of balancing supply and demand on the consumer market. According to up-to-the-minute figures trade in bread, bakery, and confectionery products, in cooked sausage, semi-prepared fish and ready-to-cook foods is becoming normalized. Against this background a note of discord is struck by declarations that the leadership of certain regions is seriously considering the question of revoking the increase in prices and unnecessary subsidies. At the same time it is explained that it is a question of all types of prices—wholesale prices, procurement prices, and retail prices, that is to say for coal, oil, steel, grain, meat, and so on. I think that you yourselves are capable of assessing the situation into which neighbors will be put in that event. At the same time the signatures of those

making the declarations are on the documents about the reform of price-setting. The possible consequences of such an action are unpredictable. It is my opionion that this is yet another populist move in pursuit of perfectly obvious political goals.

The program formulates the strategic course toward liberalizing prices. This has caused many people to feel alarm about whether this will result in a further uncontrolled increase in prices. Here I should reveal the government's action plan. First, the state will hold prices on the most important goods that form the basis of the consumer budget. Second, we intend to set prices free gradually as the market gradually becomes saturated. Here the new economic mechanism, in our opinion, should increase the incentives to step up the output of consumer goods. According to forecasts, by the end of the year one can expect not only that prices will stabilize but even that the prices of individual groups of goods will decrease to a certain extent. Third, the government is completing the drafting of a piece of legislation on indexing the population's incomes. In the first instance it will be those groups of the population on fixed incomes which will be given support by means of indexation. As far as those working in the material sphere, they receive the opportunity to increase their incomes in line with the increase in the end results of their work.

[TASS adds: "Price reform, is, of course, important, but it is not the main thing in the transition to the market. It is only one of its essential conditions. I have dwelt on this question in such detail only because it is disturbing everyone today. The main general task now is to increase the supply of goods."]

The government associates fundamentally improving the economic situation and surmounting the difficulties of the transition period with implementing the program for extricating the economy from crisis.

When drawing it up, we took as our starting-point the fact that a considerable part of the work falls to the republics. That is why use is made in the program of provisions that follow from the draft Union treaty and from the new role of a renewed center and Union republics and the mutual relations between them. I am convinced that the program makes it possible, in principle, to start up the mechanism of joint actions to resolve the crisis, and movement toward the market on an agreed interrepublican basis.

At the communists' forum I cannot fail to dwell on one more issue. For the sake of what altogether is this program? And do its guiding lines correspond to the objectives set by the party? I state here with full responsibility: Indeed they do. This program is first and foremost for the sake of millions of honest toilers who, as a result of its implementation, should get and will get the widest possibilities for realizing their labor abilities and thereby insuring a deserved living for themselves. All obstacles are removed from the road of increasing the citizens' personal earnings but one—the earnings have to be honest and based on a real growth in the results of labor activity. Thus every able-bodied member of the society should and can become the author of his own wellbeing. But precisely these objectives have always been and are set as its own by the CPSU.

For workers, white-collar staff, and peasants this is achieved by the free choice of diverse forms of ownership where the potential of their active labor can be used to the greatest possible degree. Evidently, there will also be a greater variety of types of activity, which each person will choose, taking account of his natural inclinations and professional experience. Members of society are being granted the opportunity to engage in enterprise, which for many honest toilers will be an effective sphere where they can realize active economic work. What was fettered for many years by harsh restrictions is being released.

Active work by the whole mass of working people and each citizen is the only way of quickly increasing the country's economic might. Only on this basis will the state be able to obtain the necessary material and financial resources to improve the living conditions of citizens who are unable to work too.

The Cabinet of Ministers' program of action to extricate the economy from the crisis is simultaneously a program of further economic transformations on the road to shaping a socially orientated market economy. This approach is of fundamental importance.

Discussion of the program with labor collectives, leaders of republics, organizers of production, trade unions and academics, and at the Supreme Soviet shows that, in general, many have not grasped that duality of the program. Some say that if it is an anti-crisis program, it should be confined to emergency measures and then, after the stabilization, we should think about creating a market.

Others, on the contrary, consider that it is necessary to lean toward speeding up the establishment of market relations. We do not agree with either position. In our view the truth is in between. The interests of the population demand the implementation of all possible measures to alleviate the crisis. This depends most directly on resolute actions to construct market relations. This process cannot be put off until later. It is urgently necessary to create a new economic environment. [TASS adds: "And only in this way will it be possible to turn the face of the economy toward the individual, his needs and requirements."]

A few words about the criticism of the program. Some people say that is it not an integrated one, that it does not provide answers to all the questions connected with extricating the country from the crisis and does not reveal the mechanism for solving the problems facing the country. Let me say frankly that this is not the task we set. I think that no single country in the world has prescriptions which are suitable for all of life's eventualities. Whether we like it or not, specific measures have to

be constantly refined on the basis of the situation as it develops. The cabinet has elaborated such measures taking account of the current situation. A plan exists which indicates specifically those who are to implement it and its timescales. [TASS adds: "If this plan is approved, we shall begin to implement it immediately."]

Options of possible actions and their consequences were examined in the preparation of the program. Under one option, not envisaging any special anticrisis measures, deep negative changes would have taken place in the economy as early as 1991. According to our calculations, industrial production and national income would have shrunk by approximately one-quarter. The per-capita level of material goods consumption would have dropped by some 20 percent. It would have taken years to make up for these trends.

Another option is in essence and in form presented in the program of the present Russian Government. This presupposes a complete abandoning of direct government intervention in the economy and a transfer exclusively to market relations. We think that this would lead the country this year to the deepest fall in production, by at least one-third.

The total number of the unemployed may reach 30 million people. The main part of the population may sink below the poverty line. It is obvious and you will agree with me that we simply will not be able to stand a "shock" like this and we do not need it.

One of the options is based on the active participation of all republics, labor collectives and public movements in the implementation of the anticrisis measures. It permits us to attain stabilization in the economy before the end of this year. The main thing is that at the same time we will be able in a considerable measure to restrain decline of the consumption fund and prevent the rise of unemployment going out of control. That is the option upon which the program was based. That is precisely why a set of emergency anticrisis measures were placed at the cornerstone of the program. [TASS adds: "They are aimed at normalizing economic processes and maintaining industries and sectors that are at the basis of providing the population with vitally necessary services and improving the circulation of finance and money"].

The Cabinet of Ministers proposes that a state of emergency be introduced immediately in the sphere of transport, in the sectors of the fuel and power complex and metallurgy. A special operation regime should be introduced in the banking system and in tax services. If necessary a state of emergency should also be introduced in individual regions of the country.

I would regard the most important of emergency measures as being the implementation of a tough anti-inflation finance and credit policy. What is needed to achieve this is above all that kind of good coordination in our actions, the absence of which has led us today to the edge of the financial abyss.

The required unity of actions may be insured on the basis of economic agreements that have been concluded. The government will insist on suspending decisions adopted unilaterally by republican and local organs that contravene these agreements or obstruct their implementation. We believe that leaders of all ranks must at last realize that the absence of respect for laws and concluded agreements jeopardizes not only and not so much the center which allegedly opposes the interests of the regions, as the people whom we are all obliged to serve.

I would like to use a simple example to illustrate this. At present certain republics are refusing to transfer money into the account of the Union budget. Because of the absence of the funds the Union organs, for instance, cannot allocate subsidies to Uzbekistan.

In reply to this, Uzbekistan has raised the question of increasing prices on cotton, gold, and other types of raw material. This will inevitably lead to further prices rises in light industry goods, electronic equipment, and so on. As a result, there will be another rise in the inflationary spiral leading to a fall in the population's living standards and an increase in social tension.

This begs the question: what will our population gain from this? Not to mention the question of the degree of trust to political leaders who have treated agreements so disrespectfully.

Now with regard to a matter requiring immediate resolution. What is at issue is the elaboration and confirmation of emergency union, republican and local budgets for the last six months of this year. In our view, such budgets are an effective and even perhaps the only way of bringing expenditure strictly into line with revenues, that is, of beginning at long last to live within our means. In any civilized society payment of taxes is compulsory and legislatively underpinned.

Their influx is the economic basis for the existence of a state. In our country however multitudes of economic subjects have unfortunately just stopped paying taxes. One is very reluctant to infringe on their rights but it seems one will have to restore the regularity and the compulsory nature of payments into the budget. There is no other way.

I want everyone to be clear about our tax policy. In spite of the opinion being disseminated about our government, we are by no means in favor of increasing the pressure of taxation. On the contrary, in the sphere of tax policy the cabinet will pursue a line of minimizing taxes; as we go over to a value added tax there will be reductions in the rates of taxation on enterprises' profits and citizens' incomes. It is also planned to grant tax privileges on income which is directed toward the development of production.

During the discussion of the program proposals were made to grant tax privileges to citizens who devote part of their incomes to the acquisition of shares to purchase privatized property. We think that in principle this is a

correct proposal. It is necessary to create the conditions for all working people to acquire property from their earned income and not for it to be simply distributed.

Another central link in the Cabinet of Ministers program of action are measures for stimulating economic activity, especially for saturating the market with consumer goods and services. People will come to believe us and support us only when they see positive changes in the consumer market with their own eyes. That is why we are proposing to relieve enterprises of tax on that part of profits that will be used for increasing the physical volume of consumer goods production.

There is another possibility for saturating the market. That is to stimulate enterprises' foreign economic activity. We will provide, if we get the support, allowance for export-import operations and profits if the hard currency earnings are allocated by enterprises for the acquisition of production equipment for food manufacture and for the purchase of foodstuffs, medicines, and other socially important commodities. We will try to simplify the entire procedure connected with importing these goods.

As far as the strategy of our foreign economic activity is concerned, here, side by side with measures for restructuring our exports potential, we consider it important to attract foreign capital. With its aid we could solve two tasks that are essential for us.

The first one is to stimulate competitive processes in the domestic market, and the second—to gain access to advanced technologies in industries and areas which are of primary importance for us.

Obviously the involvement of foreign investment is going to be implemented in accordance with agreed interrepubican programs and under public scrutiny. We intend to preclude any possibility even of talking about selling out the homeland or turning it into a scrapyard, which is what the press is currently making a lot of noise about. This is a question of something altogether different. If foreign investors agree to invest resources in our economy, it would be an unforgivable error on our part not to use such an opportunity to increase our production potential. But of course the main thing is nevertheless to count on our own efforts, economic and rational utilization of material and technical resources.

Their concentration in the most efficient factories and progressive foodstuffs and goods, and the use of the achievements of scientific-technical progress for these purposes—that's what is needed today for the transition to an intensive path of development.

While implementing measures to stimulate the rationalization of production and the labor activity of citizens, the government does not, in any way, link this with the appearance of mass unemployment. On the contrary, we see one of our main tasks as being to prevent it, and, to this end, a policy of creating new jobs will be implemented, primarily by developing small enterprises. [TASS adds: "We will form, at an accelerated pace, a system for regulating employment in the new conditions: a state employment service at all levels—from Union to rayon—and a network of educational establishments to retrain the unemployed population. The defining of the legal and economic bases of a new socioeconomic institution—paid public work—is coming to an end. A system of social guarantees in the employment field is being set up for persons discharged from the ranks of the Armed Forces."]

The government regards the faster introduction of a system of wages which will give each employee a great interest in working effectively as one of its most important tasks. Strictly speaking, such a system is already developing. State guarantees of minimum wage rates for various groups of working people with professional qualifications have been established. Restrictions on the scale of individual remuneration have been removed. We have granted enterprises the right independently to decide on forms and systems of wage payments.

At a time when market relations are in fact emerging, when enterprises coming under various forms of ownership really are becoming independent, when collective, joint stock enterprises are being set up, and when an entrepreneurial sector is coming into being, a new way of achieving public accord in labor questions is needed. What is required? What we need is a tripartite social partnership in determining levels of wage and salary rates and social guarantees for employees in specific industries. Generally speaking, all over the world, such agreements are achieved by means of talks between trade unions, employers, and the government.

A corresponding general tariff agreement has already been signed with the trade unions. It is founded on the principle that the consumption fund, earnings, and other social payments may be increased only in line with growth in the end results of production. This is the sole thing limiting a growth of pay and this general accord will be developed and supplemented by tariff agreements in the relevant sectors.

A new stage is thus being opened up in labor and social policy. Reciprocal commitments are being established: on the one hand in respect to the end results of economic management and on the other in respect to pay and social security for the working people. This approach rules out rushing ahead in implementing social programs and the unfounded reciprocal claims that occurred previously.

Esteemed comrade communists! As I have already said, the anticrisis measures in the program submitted by the cabinet are linked with further steps toward market relationships. We are convinced that there is at the present time no alternative to them. Indeed this fundamental conclusion is the basis of the strategy that was formulated in the documents of the 28th CPSU Congress. In practice we are already proceeding along this path. Legislation on ownership and on land was recently

supplemented by a law on the general principles of entrepreneurship in the USSR. The concept of a law on denationalization and privatization has been approved. Work is nearing completion on the preparation of the draft basic principles of antimonopoly legislation. All this is creating a legal basis for implementing economic reform.

A central issue in instituting the market is the question of property, of variety of property, forms of property. We know many examples of attempts to create market relations while maintaining the all-embracing nature of state property. With various modifications there were such attempts in Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, and other countries, but in general they succeeded nowhere. This is understandable, since the market needs freedom for the producer, freedom which provides not only possibilities for formulating a production program but also for managing his own property.

We understand the concern of many party committees, communists, and some of the population over how questions of property are going to be solved. Their apprehensions that state property will end up in the hands of private business racketeers are also understandable.

All these apprehensions may have arisen because of a certain misunderstanding, terminological confusion, or inadequate explanation. So, what is in fact going on? Two processes, denationalization [razgosudarstvleniye] and privatization, have already begun in the country. The word "denationalization" is not a very suitable one, but it has already become common parlance. What do we understand by it? Above all, the removal of enterprises in most industries from direct administration by state structures, from their tutelage. This process will be achieved mainly through the issue of shares. As it happens, a large proportion of the shares will, in our view, remain in state hands for a long time yet, both within the Union, the republics, and in local areas.

So, very large, large and, indeed, many medium-sized enterprises will not pass into private hands. They will remain in state or collective ownership. What is more, we expect a consistent increase in the stake held by work forces in the ownership of these enterprises.

And the second process is privatization. In the main it applies to small enterprises in branches where the entire historical experience shows the superiority of non-state property. It is no secret to anyone that hairdressers, minor repair shops, studios, small shops, and kiosks have long ago escaped state control. Formally they remain under the jurisdiction of the state, while in practice their employees use state property for deriving private incomes in addition to guaranteed state wages. It is precisely these enterprises which should be privatized as soon as possible, completely taken off the state's shoulders, and made to work efficiently through the system of taxation.

And three more issues connected with privatization.

First, the law should prevent the transfer of state property into dishonest hands, and its purchase with stolen money.

Secondly, it is important to evaluate properly the property of state enterprises when these are turned into joint stock companies and privatized, to prevent turning the process of taking property out of state control into free distribution. Unless we ensure this, we could either alienate the population from this process or squander public wealth.

Thirdly, it is a historical peculiarity of our country that, in the agrarian sector, there has never really been private, capitalist ownership of land in most parts of its territory. This historical reality, which corresponds to our people's mindset, cannot be disregarded. Therefore, it would be a big mistake to propose a massive sell-off of land.

There is another important point. In the process of denationalization, the problem of delimiting ownership between the Union, the republics, and regions can be tackled much more calmly, without confrontation. The allocation of appropriate shares to them will make it possible to secure unity of interests, on an economic basis, at all levels of administration. Basically, we should not be arguing over ownership of enterprises but over that proportion of the income from their activities which corresponds to the entitlement and contribution of the owner. The enterprises themselves should not feel restricted by Union, republican or local barriers. Producers can only work effectively when they can have free contacts within a single economic space for the entire country, a space which we have already almost demolished.

Well, and then we need to understand each other. What are we afraid of? Are we afraid that the Russo-Azov Bank will be able to own shares and control the catching of fish for the Ukrainian Crimea? Why are we drawing administrative boundaries in the market?

A serious factor greatly limiting the pace of transition to the market is development of the market infrastructure. After all, institutions should be developed that help the arrangement of economic links between enterprises, the movement of goods and capital, and the quest for the most rational spheres for employing resources.

The strategy and tactics here are not to set up these structures by directive. That contradicts the very essence of the market. The main thing is favorable conditions for their formation and their self-development. For example, a securities market presupposes the existence of a stock exchange, but it is not the work of the government to organize it. To create the necessary legal and other prerequisites is our function, and we intend to follow this path.

Esteemed comrades! In our view, the government is taking a sober view of the situation and clearly understands the conditions which are necessary for the practical implementation of its program. One can work out

an excellent program, but it will be worth very little unless legal foundations for its implementation, backed by the state, are created. Any program will only be viable when there is an authority which can guarantee its practical implementation. No matter which pressing task you take—the implementation of urgent measures to end the economic crisis or the carrying out of reforms which underpin real movement toward market relations—no matter which you take, you need smooth and coordinated actions by all republics and Union bodies of power. To this end there must be a clear-cut demarcation of powers between the center and the republics. There must be strong executive authority at all levels.

Another key political condition is to surmount the present atmosphere of social hostility, intolerance, and disunity and to achieve agreement in respect of the aims and tasks of the program. Opposition parties and movements are now energetically advocating a "roundtable" and a coalition government. This is being presented as though unyielding conservative communists are the main obstacle here. It will be apt to recall that the idea of cooperation between all genuinely democratic forces sincerely interested in the extrication of our society from its crisis was put forward by the CPSU at its 28th Congress. It was reaffirmed at all subsequent plenums of the Central Committee. I think it is not our fault that it has still not been realized.

To achieve civic peace and accord and to avert the most severe social and political upheavals, the government proposes at our plenum today to appeal once again to all parties and movements and all citizens who really want to end the present 'cold' civil war for constructive and creative cooperation on the basis of compromise, law and order, and democracy.

A major step in this direction could be the broadening of the government's political base. We are ready to include representatives of republics and movements in it. This would unquestionably have a beneficial effect on the general situation in the country and the effectiveness of the work of the bodies of administration.

Many people have come to realize the need for cooperation and interaction between the center and the Republics. Such appeals have issued forth from various sides. It is important not to miss this chance. If we manage to agree on coordinated actions in the sphere of the economy, if production is stabilized and the budget, finances, and foreign currency resources are sorted out, then many reasons for today's economic crisis will be removed. The rest will essentially follow on.

I believe that here one can also draw on the experience gained in preparing the 1991 economic agreement signed by all the republics and by the Union, and in achieving quite a high degree of coordination in the preparation of the price reform. Basically, the question at stake is unity of economic policy. In view of the extremely narrow specialization in individual regions and their great dependence on production facilities in other places, this is the key to market relations.

[TASS adds: "In the sphere of specific actions, both the regions and the center should be given complete freedom, provided that these actions, first, give broad scope to producers, and second, are geared to equality of various forms of ownership. Those are the yardsticks by which commitment to the policy of deepening market relations will be judged."]

There is another profound problem in moving toward the market, which is especially difficult for us—communists—to resolve. A considerable majority of our people are devoted to the socialist choice. Their awareness was molded long ago on the basis of an exceptionally one-sided effect of the communist idea of levelling consumption. And all of a sudden they have been told, by communists themselves, to recognize the equal rights of private ownership, which is identified by a majority with the capitalist one. I believe that in the socially oriented market economy every form of ownership must find a niche where it is most effective. This is the reality.

I will also note that laws of a new society must be created by the whole people. It is in our power to place an entrepreneur, irrespective of the business he represents, within the same legal bounds as the rest. It is in our power to make him unconditionally honor the main social guarantees recognized by society.

I will state frankly that in principle, I am not a supporter of closing, let's say, cooperatives, but I am in favor of providing all state enterprises with exactly the same conditions for their activities as those enjoyed by cooperatives. (voices: "that is right")

We will not attain success in anything if we do not resolutely move toward a rule-of-law state. Democracy should not be confused with anarchy, and here as well, it seems that the most positive effect on this could come from the mechanism of market relations which we are launching. How has this been thought out? It is now important to set against the unpopular step connected with the reform of prices, the next step which will be more palatable to the general public. This will undoubtedly be the step of removing things from state hands and privatization. If, of course, these are implemented in a well-thought out and consistent way.

Working people, as they take on ownership, must acquire considerable economic responsibility, and their interest in the dynamic development of production and in sound law and order must be stepped up.

I think we can undertake coordinated action to create and monitor observance of the new legislation reflecting the special feature of market relations. This will remove very many problems. For instance, if the law guarantees freedom of action and economic responsibility of goods producers, then it will be hardly possible for anyone to lock them up in any industrial or regional cell. One will hardly have to take on a broad scale any centralized

measures which we are nowadays exhorted by many to use to stop strikes and to attain observance of labor discipline etc.

[TASS adds: "Another thing: the Cabinet of Ministers envisages that in its system many bodies will receive the status of state and public bodies. Well, take, for instance, the Committee for Youth. How can one do here without actual youth organizations? In the bodies of this type decisions will be adopted on a parity basis by representatives of the state, and of public unions and associations."]

Respected communist comrades! It was the party which began perestroyka, and it is the one which will bear responsibility for its results. It has refused direct control over the national economy. But it should be the catalyst and the core for the consolidation of all progressive forces. No matter how loudly its opponents have tried to read the party its last rites, and no matter how hard the anti-communist, nationalist, and separatist groupings have tried to exclude it from political life, the party has and will continue to be the most influential and energetic political force in the country.

Because of this, the government is counting on the all-round assistance and support of the party organizations and committees, and of communists both in the effort to explain and prepare society for acceptance of the program and also to organize its practical implementation. We consider that in the first place, communists should be actively included in these activities—deputies of the Soviets of People's Deputies at all levels, workers in the bodies of executive power, in the ministries and in the departments. They are being called upon to actively make the articles of the program a reality, particularly as regards measures for maintaining economic links, for strengthening finances and the circulation of money, and for increasing the production of consumer goods and guaranteeing the population's employment.

[TASS adds: "The primary party organizations are a powerful lever in carrying out the party line. They should stand guard over the interests of the working people as the removal of concerns from state hands and privatization are being carried out, and they should explain the social import and reveal the possiblities which these processes open up to the working man. And the final point. The authority of the party and its position in the political life of the country will, in the final analysis, not be defined by our statements and declarations, but by real practical actions, by the ability to propose and implement practical measures which will improve the situation in society and will instill hope in people's hearts.

I hope that we will be far-sighted enough to hold our plenum in just such a pragmatic and constructive spirit."]

Volkov Attacks Price Hike Policy

PM2604091991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 91 Second Edition p 3

["Account" of speech delivered by P.V. Volkov, deputy secretary of the Kazakh SSR's "Ulbinskiy Metallurgicheskiy Zavod" Production Association party committee, at the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum on 24 April]

[Text] Summing up the results of the postcongress period, there is every reason for saying that our party has still not justified the expectations of millions of people and has been unable to protect them from social upheavals. Can we really treat our people in this way if we respect them? For many of our compatriots the price hike represents the clear road to poverty. Yet at the 28th congress we decided that the CPSU would pursue a policy designed to ensure effective employment and avert a drop in the standard of living for broad strata of the population. The reverse is happening.

In embarking on an unparalleled price hike for all kinds of goods, the government left enterprises to provide working people with social protection. Where are they to get the money? No one has prepared or will grant additional funds. The coffers are empty. Enterprise leaders are being forced to remove funds designed for research developments, capital construction, and retooling. Everyone directly engaged in production is well aware where this will lead in the near future. Earn the money yourselves, they are being told. But how? Economic ties have been destroyed and production volumes are plummeting. The way out seems to reside in cutting staffs down to the bone. But we're talking about people! Every person has a family and children. They will find no protection outside the enterprise gates. There are no cadre retraining centers. There is no labor exchange. Nor is there any unemployment benefit.

The question arises: How shortsighted do you have to be to fail to predict the consequences of such a drastic price hike? This does, after all, inflict a terrible blow on the party and rank-and-file party members who have to bear the burden of the decisions adopted by the country's Communist leaders. Unable to convey their pent-up feelings directly to the upper echelons, people heap everything upon the communists working alongside them and give vent to insults and threats. Party members in the localities have become the hostages of big-time politics. We are no longer able to bear this burden. Many people who had faith have been broken. Innocent victims are leaving the ranks of the CPSU. I am afraid that this will soon become a mass exodus if the leadership of the party and country continues to act in the same way.

I think, the speaker said in conclusion, that in the near future—at the next plenum, maybe—the CPSU Central Committee general secretary should report on his work to implement the decisions adopted by the 28th party congress. But immediate steps should be taken now to provide adequate compensation for the drastic increase

in the cost of living, repeal the new prices for children's goods, the 5-percent sales tax, and the percentage payment into the pension fund, and speed up the conclusion of the Union treaty as much as possible.

Report on Plenum; Speakers Listed

LD2504224391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2120 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 26 April (TASS)—The following is the text of an information report on the joint plenum of the Central Committee [CC] and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU.

Discussion of the question of the situaton in the country and ways of extricating the economy from the crisis continued at the plenum on 25 April 1991.

Speakers in the debate were I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party CC; G.M. Abelguzina, an operator from the Meleyuzovskiy chemical factory, Bashkiria autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]; O.O. Burdenko, director general of the Vilnius '60th anniversary of October' production association; A.N. Maltsev, first secretary of the Nizhegorod town party committee; N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan CC and president of the Kazakh SSR; N.N. Korablev, chairman of the control inspection committee of the Leningrad Oblast party organization; A.S. Dzasokhov, secretary of the CPSU CC; G.A. Khvatov, commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet; M.A. Chartayev, chairman of the "Odzhonikidze" kolkhoz, Dagestan autonomous SSR; A.P. Rubiks, first secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Latvia; Kh. Akhmedov, prime minister of the Turkmen SSR; A.A. Prigarin, leader of the center for political analysis and prognosis of the secretariat of the RSFSR Communist Party CC; V.P. Sapachev, a train conductor at the depot of the Irkutsk sorting station of the east Siberian railway line; A.S. Yefimov, second secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party CC; I.T. Frolov, chief editor of PRAVDA; A.M. Zaytsev, first secretary of the Kemerovo Oblast committee of the party; A.P. Snigach, first secretary of the Kakhovka town committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party; Kherson oblast; N.S. Stolyarov, chairman of the Central Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party; R.A. Medvedev, writer and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet; A.I. Volskiy, president of the USSR Scientific-Industrial Union; V.V. Bakatin, member of the USSR Security Council; A.V. Buzgalin, senior lecturer at the economics faculty of the Moscow State "M.V. Lomonosov" University; V.A. Starodubtsev, chairman of the USSR Peasants' Union, and chairman of the "Novomoskovskoye" agro-industrial association, Tula Oblast; A.A. Sergeyev, head of faculty of the academy of Labor and Social Relations; L.A. Arutyunyan, head of the faculty of applied sociology of the Yerevan State University and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet; B.I. Oleynik, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; and V.A. Kuptsov, secretary of the CPSU CC.

In the course of the debate, M.S. Gorbachev raised the question of his resignation from the post of general secretary of the CPSU CC, in connection with individual speeches by participants in the plenum. After examination of this question in the CC Politburo, the plenum adopted this decision: "Acting on the basis of the highest interests of the country, the people and the party, to withdraw from consideration the proposal submitted by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on his resignation from the post of general secretary of the CPSU CC."

USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov answered questions from participants in the plenum.

Ye.S. Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU CC, spoke for the editorial commission set up at the plenum.

After comprehensive examination of the proposals received and the discussion that took place, a resolution "On the Situation in the Country and Ways of Extricating the Economy for the Crisis" was adopted.

The plenum adopted a decision "On the Work of Communists in the Soviets of People's Deputies", a message to the Soviet people in connection with the day of international solidarity, 1 May, and another in connection with the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl accident.

The plenum appointed to membership of the CC of the CPSU D.B. Amanbayev, first secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan, and elected him a member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU. G.I. Yeremey, first secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Moldova, and M.S. Surkov, secretary of the All-Army Party Committee, were elected members of the Politburo.

The plenum released A.M. Masaliyev from his duties as a member of the CC Politburo in connection with the ending of his work as first secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan.

In connection with the confirmation of O.D. Baklanov as deputy chairman of the Defense Council under the president of the USSR, he is released from his duties as a secretary of the CPSU CC.

V.M. Falin, secretary of the CPSU CC, has been confirmed as chairman of the Commission of the CPSU CC, on problems of International Policy.

The plenum took a decision to regard S.S. Shatalin as no longer a member of the CPSU CC in connection with the termination of his membership of the CPSU.

The closing speech at the plenum was delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU CC.

The joint plenum of the CPSU CC and Central Control Commission then concluded its work.

Appeal on Chernobyl Disaster

LD2504221791 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—"Five years have elapsed since the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident, which caused the most awful catastrophe the world has ever seen," the appeal made by the plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on Thursday says.

"The tragedy affected the lives and health of millions of people, and its deadly affect will linger for many years. On the anniversary of the accident we bend our heads, remembering those, who died there, and express deep sympathy with all people affected by it," the appeal says.

"We have measured the scope of the accident and worked out a state programme to clean up the aftermath of the accident, which is being carried out.

"The international community provides humane aid to the country. In the current crisis situation, party committees and communists seek to find means and resources for medical, economic and social protection of all affected people.

"The meeting appeals to central and local bodies of power, state, public and economic organisations, scientists and physicians to do everything possible to alleviate the disaster's consequences.

"Our moral duty is to draw conclusions from the accident and fully promote the solution to this national problem," the appeal says.

New Control Commission Chief Named

LD2504173191 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party's Central Control Commission held a plenum on April 23, relieving Boris Pugo of his duties as commission head and replacing him with his former first deputy Yevgeny Makhov, it was officially announced today.

Pugo asked to be relieved of his duties because he had been appointed Soviet interior minister.

The plenum heard Makhov on members' work in the commission. Speakers exchanged opinions on the tasks of inspection agencies in the present situation and made proposals for improving the Central Control Commission's efficiency.

The plenum was attended by chairmen of auditing commissions from republican Communist Parties, as well as Central Control Commission members.

Secretaries Hold News Conference

LD2504214191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At this moment we do not have an official report on the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, of which I spoke at the very beginning. But we do already know that Central Committee secretaries comrades Dzasokhov, Luchinskiy and Falin have just held—it has just ended at the Central Committee press center—a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists. The subject, of course, was the progress of the plenum. We would like to bring you an excerpt from the news conference.

[Begin recording] [Dzasokhov at microphone, addressing news conference] Essentially, the main issues around which both discussion and analysis revolved were the state of the country, ways of overcoming the crisis, and the tasks of the party. The plenum was opened in a detailed introductory speech by Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The text of that introductory speech was published today in our newspapers. Nonetheless I should like to draw your attention, albeit in very condensed form, to the fact that the speech analyzed the political situation, which is marked by tension; and at the root of that tension are attempts to divert the country from the path of reform. On that basis, the conclusion was drawn that the situation demands that those political forces and movements which take a patriotic position renounce ambitions and set aside mutual complaints in these difficult times for the country and the people.

All this is intended and orientated toward, and is in the interests of, insuring the protection of the constitutional system and of conscious order and moving along the path of further deepening the democratic process and consistently pursuing a course toward renewal and realization of the anti-crisis program.

Great interest was aroused among the members of the Central Committee by the statement of the nine Union republics who met under the chairmanship of the president of the country and worked out a joint declaration. A number of participants in the plenum described that document as a document of strategic importance which inspires confidence that the leaders of the nine Union republics who appended their signatures to the declaration I have mentioned together with the president a solid foundation for a productive decision of important social and economic and political tasks. [sentence as heard]

On the principal issue, a formulation of which I have already communicated to you, a speech was made by Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov, member of the Central Committee. Within the space of an hour or a little more, he offered a detailed commentary on his cabinet's anti-crisis program. A keen and highly critical exchange of views then took place, with quite a variety of arguments being voiced. But it did not seem to me to be in line with,

first, the fact that the present crisis has been determined by causes of a long-standing and, I should say, deep-seated nature; and, second, with the complexity and scale of the tasks and with the mistakes that have occurred, including those in the most recent period.

Arguments of an extreme kind were expressed, I will not say by many, but they were expressed: for example, on the issue of an all-embracing understanding of a state of emergency, or, for example, the reduction of the exceedingly complex phenomena to simple schemata which came close to revising, shall we say, certain fundamental propositions of the 28th Party Congress. On the other hand—and this is possibly the main thing—we heard a great many businesslike, realistic ideas and suggestions which I hope will thoroughly supplement the cabinet's anti-crisis program.

The arguments of the Central Committee are consonant with the atmosphere which is now present in many auditoria of our society, for in accordance with a decision of the Soviet parliament, by which I mean the Supreme Soviet, the program of the prime minister is being discussed in the trade unions and other mass organizations, both those that are traditional and long-established and those that have recently emerged. We have grounds for drawing the conclusion that the plenum has made a constructive contribution to the general work of our people on the program and basically expressed its support for the anti-crisis program, and of the concept as a whole. We adopted a decision, a document of programmatic character. [end recording]

Shcherbakov Addresses Anticrisis Plan Critics

LD2504172391 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—A meeting of nearly 100 parties and movements to discuss the government's latest anti-crisis programme, conceived as a way to help rally all public forces behind the plan, demonstrated that ultra-radicals and ultra-conservatives are united in the criticism of the cabinet.

The meeting, organised by parliament's newly-established Commission for Public Relations, also showed clearly that the survivals of totalitarianism in public mentality are among the major stumbling blocks on the way to a market.

Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shcherbakov, who spoke at the meeting on behalf of the government, faced a squall of charges ranging from "the destruction of socialism" to "the sell-out of the country to foreign thieves."

Such organisations as the National Yedinstro (Unity) Society for Leninism and Communist Ideals or the National Women's Movement for a Socialist Future for Children, which attended the meeting, are not yet really influential. But as living standards decline, their calls for returning to a Stalinist regime will undoubtedly win increasing popularity.

Representatives of more powerful movements such as the United Workers' Front, who also were present, were more restrained in their criticism of the government, but their grievances against it were strong enough. It is easy to imagine how pressure on the cabinet will grow as inflation and unemployment inevitably pick up.

Shcherbakov declared the government's firm intention to counter the populist pressure, admitting in the same breath that he hears daily demands for pay increases from representatives of various industries and regions and is compelled to meet many of them.

Further on Shcherbakov Comments

LD2604093291 Moscow TASS in English 0857 GMT 26 Apr 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Vladimir Isachenkov and Yuriy Sizov]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shcherbakov said he was sure that republics would be able to agree on concerted efforts to implement the anti-crisis programme of the Federal Cabinet of Ministers.

The USSR Supreme Soviet approved the main provisions of this programme on Tuesday and on the same day the leaders of nine republics and the Soviet president signed a statement expressing their intention to sign a Union treaty as soon as possible and carry out coordinated anti-crisis measures.

In a TASS interview, Shcherbakov emphasised that the leaders of the republics were well aware that they do not even have a theoretical possibility of existing separately. At issue now is how quickly the logjams that amassed during the war of laws can be cleared, Shcherbakov said. "Certainly, it will take some time to coordinate interests and positions. Those who deal with the economy professionally are ready to sit down at the negotiating table immediately," Shcherbakov added.

He emphasised that trade with republics which refuse to conclude the Union treaty would be done at world prices and taxes and respective customs duties would be levied on export-import operations.

Shcherbakov noted that the programmes of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the Russian Government had much in common and stated that the architects of both documents had decided to harmonise their positions.

Shcherbakov said the government's anti-crisis reform package contained an extensive system of measures to ensure a social safety net for the population, but did not envisage indexing incomes of all sections of society. Only pensions, student grants and allowances for children will be indexed-linked at the expense of the budget.

As for the able-bodied population, questions of raising wages should be solved in tariff agreements with the administration. "If we embark on the path of index-linking the incomes of the entire population, we will never get out of hyper-inflation, the rate of which can soar to a thousand per cent a year," Shcherbakov said.

At the same time, he pointed out that the government had not refused to conduct negotiations with those who demand a pay rise. "In some cases, it is necessary that a compromise formula be found and people be given an opportunity to adapt to new conditions gradually, Shcherbakov stressed.

"There are two variants to deal with the accumulating inflationary steam. Of course, the lid can be clamped on the boiler tightly, but in this case the pressure inside the boiler will tear it apart. The government abides by the second approach. It intends to regulate the steam as it spews out. There is no way to avoid inflation, but we can learn to live in conditions of inflation," Shcherbakov said.

He said that the government intended to give explicit legislative guarantees to foreign investors and envisage the procedure to turn profits in roubles into profits in hard currency at auctions and their export. Shcherbakov expressed confidence that the adoption of these measures would create conditions for a considerable and stable influx of investments.

Ukraine's Fokin on Joint Statement

LD2504211191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The joint statement published yesterday by the USSR president and the leaders of nine of our republics has provoked a great public response both in our country and abroad. The reaction is on the whole lively and encouraging. The FINANCIAL TIMES in London writes, for instance, that "hope was born in Moscow". A WASHINGTON POST Moscow correspondent comments on this document, that is, the joint statement: "Mikhail Gorbachev, the USSR president, has changed his line in favor of compromise with individual Soviet republics and received important support from his rival Boris Yeltsin in the form of a statement on joint actions aimed at extricating the country from the economic and social crisis." That is a typical foreign reaction. And now about the reaction in this country to the joint statement by President Gorbachev and the leaders of the nine republics. Let us take a look at an interview with Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Pavlovich Fokin by our Kiev correspondent.

[Begin Fokin recording] To stop, to move away from the edge of the precipice, to pull ourselves together and to flesh out everything that is going on and to overcome, if you like, our own pride in the name of higher interests, in the name of the interests of the people—that was in actual fact the main leitmotif of the meeting that took place on 23 April.

Our debates were very acute, and our arguments were heated. Behind their mutual grievances, mistrust and reproaches were put to one side. But in the final analysis, the historic nature of that moment lies perhaps in the fact that reason has triumphed.

The most important thing is that it was finally recognized that the expression "parade of sovereignties" which many have found offensive has to be forgotten, that a new Union must be formed by sovereign states, and that it is precisely their delegations that must sign this new treaty. It was determined that principles of formation of the state budget must also undergo some serious changes. And perhaps nobody doubts the fact that an emergency budget is needed for the last six months. All spoke in favor of the need to comply with the pledges adopted by each republic on the economic agreement. At any rate—I will say it briefly—the main result of that meeting is that mutual trust has been reinstated, and that old grudges have been forgotten. All have understood that only by joint and coordinated efforts can one take the country out of the crisis, overcome the steep hills on the path of the transfer to market relations and provide the peoples of our country and of the sovereign states with a secure future.

Another thing: The participants of the meeting spoke unanimously in favor of the need to strengthen the authority of the president so as to prevent his decrees from being turned into sham, pardon my word, and from being interpreted by anyone anywhere as they like, so as to establish order and legality in the country and so that everybody who is now engaged in instigating [unrest] bears responsibility, including those scoundrels, pardon my rude expression, who travel nowadays from field to field trying to persuade people not to sow crops, thereby trying to make our children and grandchildren victims of their ambitions. We must now allow them to do that. [end recording]

Prokofyev: Leadership Survival on the Line

PM2604104791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 91 Second Edition p 3

["Account" of speech delivered by Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of Moscow CPSU City Committee, at CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum on 24 April]

[Text] The [Moscow City Committee] plenum held the other day focused on the same current problems as we have been discussing today. Without going into detail, I will dwell on the main assessments and the most important proposals for getting the country out of the crisis.

First, we have no more time for endlessly arguing about the catastrophic situation in which our society finds itself. There are plenty of arguments to back up this

assessment. Additional details will no longer make the picture any clearer. We need to act vigorously to get the country out of the crisis. The question is: How should we act?

It is now obvious that we will not be able to get by without tough measures—above all in the economic sphere. We should not view them as an attempt to reverse the reforms that have been started. But we should pluck up courage and admit that the mistakes made when implementing the reforms have left the country in the gravest of situations. The destruction of the national economy has led to a sharp fall in the people's living standard. Urgent measures, up to and including emergency measures, are needed to stabilize all aspects of life in order to halt the slide into catastrophe and, having taken stock, continue the reforms.

That is why we support, on the whole, the joint statement on urgent measures to stabilize the situation and overcome the crisis signed by the USSR president and the leaders of the top state organs in nine Union republics. It largely coincides with the proposals advanced at the Moscow City Party Committee [Gorkom] Plenum. But, nonetheless, the proposed measures are not, in our view, entirely adequate to cope with the prevailing situation. It seems to us that they should correspond to three main interrelated demands: comprehensiveness, the presence of a clear-cut mechanism for implementing them, and phased implementation. The absence of these requirements in the joint statement diminishes its constructiveness and the confidence that what has been planned will be carried out.

In this connection I would make the following specific points. We should not hope for something to turn up to get us out of the crisis. In the new highly developed countries whose experience and living standard we invoke there have been five-, three-, and one-year development plans and targeted national programs. We need to urgently restore a centralized system of material and technical supply, above all, for vitally important sectors. Without this, in our view, it will be impossible to block the crisis processes. The improvement of the tax system should be one of the priority measures for stabilizing the economy. New forms of economic management should not be established at the expense of infringing the interests of state enterprises and the people working at them.

Second, with regard to the USSR Cabinet of Ministers anticrisis program. There is serious doubt about the social cost of the measures proposed by the government. We consider it extremely high. You know, esteemed comrades, I forget all about the considerable achievements of perestroyka in the sphere of democratization when I see old people down at the vegetable store in the morning picking up cabbage leaves out of garbage containers, or a young man in a commercial store calmly buying three bottles of spirits costing more than 1,000 rubles.

Third, the most heated debates at the party gorkom plenum yesterday focused on the question of the current CPSU leadership. A direct call was made for the Central Committee general secretary to resign. The framing of the question in this way was justified by the difficult progress in the transformations, the burden of the errors of perestroyka which are increasing life's difficulties, the policy—incomprehensible to many—of conducting a balancing act between different political forces, and the increasing gap between primary party organizations and the party leadership. This was by no means a machination by the party apparatus, but a feeling held by quite broad swathes of the party masses.

Mikhail Sergeyevich! You should realize that people are expecting not so much resolute statements as vigorous and consistent action in all spheres of life. That is the only way to win back communists' confidence and the people's support. The gorkom plenum discussed the need to take emergency measures as an instrument for implementing the anticrisis program. Not even an excellent program, much less an anticrisis program, can be implemented without them in the situation which has emerged in the country. And the president needs to decide to apply the emergency powers which have been granted to him.

If everything remains unchanged and drowns once again in a sea of words which are not backed up by action, it will be a tragedy for the country and the party. And then communists will be entitled to ask: "Does the current political leadership have the right to lead the party?"

Gorbachev Issues Decree on Afghanistan Veterans

LD2504171791 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 25 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[text] The USSR president issued a decree today on measures for the social rehabilitation and improvement of the living and everyday conditions of those who carried out internationalist duty in the Republic of Afghanistan and the members of their families, and also other participants in local conflicts beyond the borders of the USSR.

Noting that the USSR Government had unjustifiably protracted the drawing-up of a state program aimed at solving problems connected with the living and everyday conditions of those who took part in the Afghan events, the USSR president instructed the USSR Cabinet of Ministers to complete its preparations by 1 June this year. Prime Minister Pavlov has also been instructed to take personal control of this matter.

Politburo Slogans for May Day

PM2504153891 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

["CPSU Central Committee Politburo Slogans for 1 May 1991"]

[Text] 1. Hail to 1 May—the Day of International Solidarity of Working People of All Countries!

2. Compatriots! Let us unite in the name of civil peace and national concord. A Union Treaty for the country, peace for every home!

3. Communists! Let us rally to achieve the main goals of perestroyka—secure a worthy life for Soviet people on the basis of the creation of an efficient economy, build a rule-of-law state!

4. Working people of the Soviet Union! Struggle persistently for the strengthening of constitutional order in the country!

5. Citizens of the Soviet Union! Let us support measures aimed at preserving the integrity of our multinational state!

6. Workers of the Land of the Soviets! Your organization, fortitude, and labor productivity are the main guarantees of the resolution of urgent tasks and the country's emergence from the crisis! Let us prevent the collapse of the national economy!

7. Rural working people! In your hands is the resolution of the food problem, the well-being of every family! Put land reform into practice!

8. Scientific and cultural workers! Let us pool our efforts in the cause of the spiritual rebirth and moral regeneration of society!

9. Soviet women! Let us defend peace and concord in our common home, the well-being and happiness of children!

10. Young men and girls! You are the future of the renewed country! Strive persistently to master knowledge, professional skill, political culture!

11. Servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces! Strengthen military discipline, comradeship, and international fraternity, worthily fulfill your constitutional duty in defense of the socialist Fatherland!

12. Eternal glory to the Soviet people's feat in the Great Patriotic War!

Honor and esteem to the veterans whose military and peacetime labor augmented the Fatherland's glory!

13. Fraternal greetings to communists abroad, to all who advocate democracy, peace, and socialism!

14. Hail to cooperation, mutual understanding, and concord among all peoples!

Liberal Democrats Urge Ending Confrontation

LD2204221691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1827 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 22 April. (TASS)—The Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], which was the second party after the CPSU to officially register as an all-Union party, has called upon all political forces of the country "to renounce the policy of confrontation, the course toward the war of laws, and the blocking of decisions, to show civil responsibility, and thus prevent the majority of our compatriots sliding toward poverty."

This political statement of the second LDP congress, which took place in Moscow in mid-April, was handed to press representatives today.

The LDP leadership has also circulated an appeal to striking miners, which was adopted at the congress. It says: "In connection with the fact that at present any strikes are capable of disrupting the country's economic and political transformations and the transfer to a market system and real democracy, pulling the economy down, and driving our people toward unprecedented poverty, the LDP congress appeals to collectives of striking miners to suspend strikes during the period of elections of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president." According to its leaders, the party has over 17,000 members at present.

TASS Reviews Central Press for 26 Apr

LD2604090391 Moscow TASS in English 0635 GMT 26 Apr 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Today's newspapers carry a news bulletin about the joint plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee and the Central Control Commission. The plenum completed its work on Thursday.

The bulletin points out in particular that those present at the plenum, after a thorough consideration of propositions that were made and an ensuing discussion, adopted a resolution "On the state of affairs in the country and ways to take the economy out of the crisis".

The plenum passed a resolution "on the work of communists in Councils of People's Deputies", an address to the Soviet people on the occasion of May Day—the Day of Internationalist Solidarity, and an address (published in the press) in connection with the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl accident.

Newspapers run accounts of the news conference, held at the CPSU Central Committee's press centre on Thursday night, on the results of the just-ended plenary meeting.

PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA run the text of a speech made at the plenum by Prime Minister Valentin

Pavlov on the state of affairs in the country and ways to take the economy out of the crisis. PRAVDA began to publish summaries of remarks by participants in the plenum.

The world's heaviest nuclear disaster occurred in Chernobyl five years ago. Newspapers write about the fate of people, the consequences of the nuclear power station breakdown, work by scientists and specialists, and publish President Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the governments of all countries and the world public and all people of goodwill, suggesting that they "participate intellectually and financially in an international programme being implemented under the auspices of the World Health Organisation. The results of the implementation of the programme will be utilised in the interests of the whole of mankind".

In PRAVDA's special supplement headlined "The Lessons of the Chernobyl Accident", the aftermath of the accident is analysed by Yuriy Izrael, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology. There is also an interview with Hans Blix, director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and an account of PRAVDA's "Chernobyl: Five Years Afterwards" expedition.

Newspapers run a decree by the president of the USSR "on measures for social rehabilitation and improvement of the living conditions of people who [passage indistinct] Republic of Afghanistan, members of their families and other participants in local conflicts outside the USSR".

[passage indistinct] committee have been published by PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. The slogans call on the compatriots to unite "in the name of civil peace and national concord".

Newspapers cover the proceedings of the Union parliament and the parliament of Russia. The latter discussed Russia's land code at a joint meeting of the parliamentary chambers on Thursday.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes Russia's laws "on enhancing social guarantees for the working people", "on introducing changes to the Russian Federation law 'on state pensions in the Russian Federation [words indistinct] resolutions passed by the Russian Federation parliament.

Major-General Dmitriy Yarmak, deputy head of the USSR Defence Ministry's Main Billeting Department, describes [passage indistinct].

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, analysing the strike movement, writes that "the most powerful wave of workers' movement that swept the country this spring was prompted by obvious economic and political miscalulations of the Union leadership. Many people's embitterness and intolerance are accounted for, first of all by, the decline in the living standards in the country, and not only by spurring from the ideologists of political sabotage".

Kamil Yashen, people's writer of Uzbekistan, on the day of the 25th anniversary of the Tashkent earthquake, reflects in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA on friendship among the Soviet Union's peoples who actively participated in the revival of Tashkent.

"Reforms Are Costly. We Cannot Afford Them" is the headline under which KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries conclusions drawn by researchers at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute on Market Problems. They made an independent expert examination of the government's anti-crisis programme adopted by the Union parliament.

TRUD newspaper carries a 1991 agreement between the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the Council of the USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions on Labour and Socio-Economic Issues.

It is emphasized that the agreement is aimed at stabilising the economy and the socio-political situation in the country, at enhancing the social protection of the working people and at averting a decline in the people's living standards and other possible negative consequences during the transition to a market economy.

Economic

Kuzbass Strikers 'Show No Signs of Compromise'

LD2504100291 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo, Western Siberia, April 25 TASS—

Forty five out of 76 pits and three faces are idle in Kuzbass, according to information supplied by strike committees. Customers have not received 4,200,000 tonnes of Kuznetsk coal since the beginning of April.

According to figures from the Kemerovo Regional Executive Committee, work collectives at 43 mines took part in the strike on Wednesday, the newspaper TRUD reports. At five of them, basic operations were only partially carried out. The move by the Anzhersky Loading-Transport Agency to join the stoppage has worsened the situation with the shipment of coal even more over the last 24 hours.

The next few days will show how events develop. Each day of the stoppage is wrecking the social programmes for the cities where miners themselves live. Strike-bound pits are becoming increasingly unfit for mining.

Meanwhile, strike committees show no signs of compromise. They stubbornly insist on their totally political demands, resorting to all kinds of pressure not only on miners. In a newspaper interview, chairman of the

Novokuznetsk City Strike Committee R. Vakhitov plainly said: "We propose to metallurgists to support our political demands and make a decision to work at half capacity. We would guarantee them a 50 per cent coal quota." Metallurgists rejected the proposal.

A group of irreconcilable deputies, who are members of strike committees, blocked the adoption by the session of the Leninsk- Kuznetsk City Council of decisions on the most acute socio-economic problems of the city. They voted down the decisions because the rest of the deputies did not support their political demands in an unqualified manner, TRUD writes.

Vorkuta Mines End Strike After Moscow Telegram

LD2504144491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] A meeting of the Vorkuta Coordination Council for holding the Vorkutaugol miners's strike has ended. The council's members decided: The collectives of all the striking mines are to resume work from midnight the day after tomorrow, 27 April. The decision was adopted following a telegram from Moscow, which came today. It is signed by Doguzhiyev, USSR first deputy prime minister, and Skokov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers. It says, among other things that a preliminary mutual agreement on transferring the Vorkutaugol Association to RSFSR jurisdiction has been reached.

Documents for a final decision will be prepared and examined within a week. Our correspondent was told at the Vorkuta Coordination Council that Vorkuta miners are only suspending the strike for the time being, and are reserving the right to resume it. In addition, all their political demands remain valid.

CPSU Urges 'Exceptional Measures' for Economy

AU2504204491 Paris AFP in English 2008 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, April 25 (AFP)—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on Thursday proposed a series of "exceptional" measures over a one or two-month period to fight the severe economic crisis, INTERFAX news agency reported.

The steps include the reestablishment or strengthening of the nation's financing, banking and budget systems and stricter state control of foreign trade relations, INTERFAX said.

The committee also urged opposition to "attempts by anti-Socialist forces" to restore capitalism and to abolish the system of "Soviet representation."

Trade Minister Briefs Lukyanov on Market

PM2504095191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, URAL-SOVETY, POST-FACTUM, INTERFAX, TASS, and REUTER roundup: "State of Trade Following Price Increases"]

[Text] USSR Trade Minister Kondrat Terekh has sent Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a memorandum on the state of trade in the new price conditions over the past two weeks. In the food market trade in bread, baked goods, confectionery, sausages, and fish in the form of convenience foods and prepared dishes is settling down. The exception is the Central Asian market, where there is a heightened demand for bread.

In the public catering sphere fewer people have been eating in dining rooms at work and educational establishments and also in public eating places; there has been a sharp drop in sales of meals and products. The average reduction is 30-40 percent, but some enterprises have seen a sixfold to tenfold reduction.

The situation in the light industry goods trade has not changed for the better. This is due to a decline in output in the first quarter of this year, INTERFAX has reported.

Trade Ministry Data on Impact of New Prices

PM2504105191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[O. Kuzmina report: "And the Questions Have Not Been Resolved..."]

[Text] And so, as of 2 April of this year new prices have been in force in our country. You cannot say that this phenomenon has given us extra optimism. Whatever next—being happy with the price lists as they are? Let us look at figures that the USSR Ministry of Trade has provided for the editorial office.

Two weeks with the new prices. As we have been informed, an increased demand for bread is being observed in areas of Uzbekistan that border on other republics. This is explained by the fact that in Uzbekistan the prices of basic types of bread and flour have not been raised. On the whole normalized trading in bread and confectionery products is being maintained. It has also been pointed out that as a rule five to seven types of products are on sale throughout the whole day. Is this good news? It depends for whom. Not for the inhabitants of Donetsk, for example—following the price rises, flour has not appeared on the shelves a single time...

The Trade Ministry has also reported that you cannot name a single region where trade has been fully normalized. This is a fair statement. Particularly if you bear in mind the fact that the norms for allowances of goods are

being reduced in some regions. Take sugar: In most rayons the norms were reduced in April from 1.5kg to 0.5-1kg.

Outer clothing—coats and suits—are still enjoying a high demand among the population, even regardless of their price. So, they did not manage to fill the counters with coats—even at R700 a time. Supplies of shoes, knitted articles, and stockings and socks were reduced by 10-15 percent in comparison with last year.

Judging by our editorial office canteen, where there are almost never any waiting lines, "catering enterprise usage levels... remain low and represent 40-50 percent of the number of clients served previously." Indeed, there is almost no problem with the choice of dishes—there is a lot of everything. Because hardly anyone can afford the luxury of meat at such prices. In certain rayons, schoolchildren's food is subsidized, as is workers' and employees' food in many enterprises. Questions of subsidies for food have still not been definitively resolved in Moldova, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan, and a number of oblasts in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Ukraine...

That's more or less all there is to say. It is sad.

Switch to Market After Price Hikes Urged

PM2404153591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[Observer E. Gonzalyez "Commentary" under the general heading: "Two Weeks of New Prices"]

[Text] Different economists gave different explanations of the need to raise prices but it must be honestly admitted that no one promised abundance. They spoke about a step toward market relations, the improvement of finances, the regulation of the price structure, making prices accord with costs, and finally plugging the gaps in the budget. But only the greatest optimists saw the new prices as an incentive to the development of production. All the rest were sure that at best high prices have nothing to do with the volume of goods and at worst will lead to a decline in labor productivity. And everyone without exception predicted a new round of inflation.

Let us temporarily leave aside the question of who is right—it is surely too soon to say. In any event, the optimists guessed one thing right—across the country as a whole, people's attitude to the unprecedented assault on their finances, judging by the descriptions of the stores, was far more tolerant than could have been expected. There were protests but, thank God, matters did not degenerate to the smashing of store windows. And this despite the fact that what is perhaps the main condition of the reform has not been observed—the mechanism for indexing the population's incomes has not been introduced. Had this been done right now and not in May (as planned), the blow would presumably have been softened.

Where did the pessimists get it right? Unfortunately, on almost everything. The prices hikes can hardly patch up the budget, the subsidies will remain, price proportions will remain distorted, the desire to get rid of the ruble will not diminish, nor will the desire to earn money increase. And why earn money if, as our own correspondents report, even coupons provide no guarantee.

However, judging just from these stated aims of the price increase, you may suspect that the reform was designed by people who do not know what they are doing. But that is not exactly so. It is simply that there were other aims that it is not very convenient to talk about at length. For example, our budget can no longer tolerate subsidies running into hundreds of billions of rubles. These billions do not exist. And if you view the reform as a very complex and intricate way of transferring expenditure to enterprises and the population, it has undoubtedly worked. And in that case it can no longer be said that the price change has not given anyone anything.

Can any benefit be derived from the troubles that have befallen us? Probably, if all the remaining reforming steps do not remain mere intentions. I do not mean to suggest the USSR Cabinet of Ministers' crisis program now under discussion is wishful thinking. I am talking about something else.

We have taken the first step in the reform. Unfortunately, it required sacrifices from the population. Contrary to all the rules of the management of society we began by removing, depriving, withdrawing. And we did so twice over—the removal of banknotes and the raising of prices. It is time to give something back. For example, the possibility of earning money, land, and free enterprise. Many people are opposed to the economic reform by their nature and social position. So why make more opponents—out of its potential supporters?

The increase in retail prices (and what an increase!) has at least one very positive result which we would be wrong not to utilize: It has already happened and no one is surely now going to convince us of the need for a new price hike by directive. Let us go straight into the market.

Dealing Light in Foreign Exchange Market

PM2404161791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[I. Zhagel report: "New Currency Trading. Old Ruble-Dollar Market Exchange Rate Maintained"]

[Text] On Tuesday 16 April trading took place for the second time on the foreign exchange market. It aroused great interest since the results were to determine the market exchange rate of the ruble [R] against hard currency for the coming week at least.

The initial exchange rate was set at R32.4 per U.S. dollar. More people wanted to buy hard currency than sell it, or more precisely, demand exceeded supply. Naturally, the rate of our denomination began to fall. It

proved possible to set it at the level of R35.0. It was at this price that U.S. $930,000 changed hands.

And so on this occasion the situation which prevailed during the previous trading on the foreign exchange market was repeated to some extent. Or more specifically, the volume of sales did not exceed $10 million. This figure is very important.

The point is that in accordance with existing normative documents, if the volume of sales during trading does not exceed a set limit, the exchange rate used at the foreign exchange market does not apply to nonmarket exchange operations. In that case the previous exchange rate—in particular R27.6 per U.S. dollar—continues to apply.

This is the price at which all Soviet citizens may buy hard currency until the next market dealing. That is, they may buy, provided they are going abroad on business or on vacation, or to take up permanent residence.

Naturally, the question arises: Why, for the second time running, has the volume of transactions on the foreign currency market been so small? Is some kind of pressure perhaps being applied to sellers or buyers?

I believe that there are no grounds for this type of conclusion. No one is twisting anyone's arm, and moreover the dollar rate in the market dealings remains close to the "black market" rate. In any case, at previous foreign currency auctions sales were much bigger, although the conditions were less advantageous for sellers.

It is more likely that the banks which are taking part in the trading have not yet managed to prepare themselves properly for their new job. Their mutual relations with clients have not yet been worked out. The risk factor is also making itself felt: What if you buy dollars at a disadvantageous rate and cannot sell them afterward? After all, enterprises are currently authorized to acquire hard currency only to finance foreign contracts, not to keep it in their accounts.

Scientific

Cosmonauts Plan 25 April Space Walk

LD2504174191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 25 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The crew of the Mir space station, Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov, will carry out a space walk at 2315 today. Their task is to try to repair a docking antenna attached to the Mir complex. The damage to this device almost caused the Progress-M freighter to crash into the station on 23 March this year. The antenna was broken when one of the cosmonauts touched it with his boot during a previous space walk.

Space Walk Begins

LD2504205891 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondcent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov today, in 23:29 Moscow time have started a spacewalk, the fourth during the 8th main expedition. The main mission of today's spacewalk is to inspect the aerial of the quant module. Afanasyev and Manarov are expected to spend about five hours in outer space.

Space Walk Detailed

LD2604083491 Moscow TASS in English 0817 GMT 26 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent from the mission control centre]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The crew of the Soviet orbital complex Mir have carried out a regular phase of extra-vehicular activities.

Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov went out into the open space through the hatch of the air-lock compartment of the Kvant-2 module at 23.29, Moscow time, on April 25.

When outside the orbital complex the cosmonauts installed an experimental assembly of a thermo-mechanical joint. Subsequently similar elements will be used to assemble large-size constructions in orbit.

The mission commander attached a television camera on the adjustable platform of the Kvant-2 module. The TV camera is used in geophysical research. Earlier the camera had been dismantled by the crew to replace lens.

The principal purpose of the space walk was to gauge the state of the antenna of the radio technical docking system, mounted on the astrophysical module Kvant. The malfunction of the antenna was reported to have been the cause of the unconventional situation during the docking of the Progess M-7 cargo spacecraft.

During extra-vehicular activities the flight engineer moved to the Kvant module. He inspected the outer elements of the antenna and reported their condition to experts at the mission control centre.

Prior to returning to the station, the crew dismantled samples of structural materials that had been exposed to open space for a long time and removed the experimental assembly of the thermo-mechanical joint that had been put on the outer surface of the orbital complex at the beginning of the space walk.

Following extra-vehicular activities which continued for three hours and 34 minutes, Afanasyev and Manarov are feeling well.

Baltic Republics

Further on Tallinn Meeting of Republican Leaders

LD2504225191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The fifth meeting of heads of governments and representatives has begun in the Estonian capital. The meeting will last for two days. Delegations of the Governments of Latvia, Lithuania, and Moldova, led by prime ministers, have arrived; representatives from Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, Leningrad, and the Russian Federation are also there.

In parallel with the plenary sittings, Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and other members of the Government of Estonia will hold bilateral talks with the delegations participating in the discussions.

Together with other questions, cooperation opportunities for the sovereign republics that have proclaimed a transitional period and various Eurasian regions will be examined. Great attention will be paid to the development of the exchange of goods and horizontal economic contacts among the republics and regions.

Participating in the Tallinn discussions for the first time are representatives of foreign firms interested in cooperation. It is expected that contacts will be established in the eastern as well as in the western direction.

The fifth Tallinn meeting of heads of governments and representatives will end tomorrow with the signing of a document. After that, at the cinema hall of the Sakala center, a news conference of the delegation representatives will be held.

Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Latvia, is participating in the meeting. So far we have no information on the meeting taking place in Tallinn.

Blast Damages Tallinn Communist Party Building

LD2604085691 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 26 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn April 26 TASS—A powerful bomb exploded near a district Communist Party committee building in Tallinn at 3:52 this morning.

The blast wrecked a door in the building and windows in neighbouring houses. No casualties have been reported. The procurators office and police have begun an investigation.

It was the fourth terrorist attack this year in the Estonian capital. Most of them have been aimed at buildings where the Russian-speaking population's public and political organisations are located.

Some time ago, the republican government promised a 20,000-rouble reward for information on those responsible for the first explosion, but so far not a single arrest has been made.

Demands Made on Latvian Interior Ministry

LD2504205591 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The Soviet military has laid down certain demands in official letters to the Latvian Interior Ministry and if these demands are not met the military intends to cease guarding Latvia's prisons as from the 1st May. The demands include the granting of apartments and the withdrawal of certain restrictions and laws imposed on the military. If the Army goes ahead with its proposal then some of Latvia's Interior Ministry's contingent will act as (?replacements).

The heads of Latvia's parliamentary defense and interior commissions do not see relations with the Army to be hopeless and envisage that this question can be brought up and solved in the course of talks between delegations from Latvia and the Soviet Union which recently began in Moscow.

Latvia's Ivans Reacts to Norwegian-Soviet Treaty

LD2504150191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0800 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] We continue with the viewpoint of a representative of the government, of the legislature, of our republic on the documents published in the Norwegian press revealing a mutual agreement between the USSR and Norway in 1959. Until now, representatives of the Norwegian Government have asserted that the policy of nonrecognition of the annexation of the Baltics after 1940 in relation to the USSR had remained unchanged. For a reaction to what has appeared in the Norwegian press, Dainis Ivans, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia:

[Ivans] So, today in Norway the military agreement between the USSR and Norway of 30 September 1959 relating to property connected with the Baltic states was published. In brief, this concerns property belonging to the Republic of Latvia and citizens of the Republic of Latvia in Norway, and, in turn, the property belonging to Norwegian firms and Norwegian citizens in the Republic of Latvia, including planned joint ventures. There is even talk of ships in which Norwegian citizens, it mentions, fled to the Soviet Union, as it were, during the war, possibly even to the other side, too. We know that Latvian citizens also used some ship to flee from the genocide, coming from the eastern side to Latvia.

At the moment we do not know the motives, why just at this time the agreement is being revealed. Evidently there is some financial or property issue between the Soviet Union and Norway. It may even concern these territorial waters in the Baltic Sea, in which, as we know,

at no time could Norway and the Soviet Union divide their spheres of influence, and as we also know, Norway fundamentally is in the opposite camp. It was an opponent of the so-called anti-Hitler coalition. Surely this treaty was concluded to regulate these relations, evidently under pressure from the Soviet Government, as usually happened.

Well, what are the feelings in reading this treaty? In any case there is a certain sense of embitterment, although we understand that Norway is a small state and the Soviet Union can put pressure on it, but nevertheless, 1959 was not a year when you could put pressure on neighboring countries to obey all the Soviet Union's dictates. I am mainly embittered by the Norwegian Government's lack of principle—that they, just like Hitler and Stalin, could bargain with what did not belong to them, permitting a bargain with the Soviet Union about what does not belong to them—the property of the republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

What is the significance of this document today? It seems that use will be made of it in a struggle between several Norwegian political parties, and the party that was in power at the time and formed the Norwegian Government will be criticized. I also feel a certain satisfaction that this document is published, however, because I would like to say that Norwegian society and Norwegian politicans will have a chance to compare the policies of then and now. There will also be a chance for a historical look at the situation of these Baltic states. In the fifties, things looked totally hopeless for them, and maybe that is why Norwegian politicians let this happen, thinking that they will go unpunished as the victors, that never will this be published. Now they must honestly think again about it.

This is a downright scandal, I think, the Baltics would be totally assimilated, annihilated, if we had not adopted the declaration of independence. Then these documents would simply have gone unnoticed in the Norwegian press, and the present Norwegian Government—in my view, also as a resut of the publication of this document—will also be forced to have a serious think about its course so that something like this is never repeated by the Norwegian side.

Latvia, Poland Preparing for Diplomatic Ties

LD2404215491 Hamburg DPA in German 1727 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—According to a report from the Soviet news agency BALTFAX, Poland is preparing to establish consular and diplomatic relations with Latvia. A statement on this will be signed this June, the agency, which is published jointly by INTERFAX and the Baltic news service BNS, reported today.

A delegation from the Baltic republic has agreed in Warsaw the draft of a declaration on friendship and cooperation between Poland and Latvia. "Poland is preparing to restore both consular and diplomatic relations," the document says. The draft, described as a "legal foundation for bilateral relations," also provides for the setting up of cultural centers and press offices. "Poland will be the first European state to sign such a document with Latvia," BALTFAX said.

New Resolutions Deal With 'Recent Provocations'

Order on Armed Patrols

LD2504200891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Order issued by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania on 25 April; place not given]

[Text] In view of recent provocations—the occupation of the Vilnius branch of the Agro-Industrial Bank and the seizure of equipment from the Kaunas driving school—carried out by personnel of the Soviet Army and Interior Troops, the government emphasizes the necessity to ensure the protection of public order and the security of residents, and deems the following measures as necessary:

1. Instruct the Ministry of Internal Affairs to intensify the protection of public order by introducing constant patrols in the republic's towns until 20 May, and correspondingly to arm the patrol services, and ensure the protection of weapons held by the ministry.

2. Determine that weapons from police commissariats and other places where they are held are handed over to other units and security services only on the orders of the Minister of Internal Affairs or the general commissar of the police department in coordination with the leadership of the government of the Republic of Lithuania.

3. Determine that Liubertas, the general commissar of the police department, bears responsibility for the execution of this order.

4. Acquaint police commissariats with this order.

Protection of Buildings Enacted

LD2504223191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The government has adopted two resolutions directly linked with the tension that is being increased by the military. One of them supplements the government resolution passed a month ago listing the most important buildings guarded by the sub-units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They are the buildings of the legislature and the government, radio and television, the state archives, the general procuracy, the Lithuanian Bank and other bank institutions, and so on.

The government resolution says that firearms are allowed to be used when these buildings are attacked. The other resolution instructed the Ministry of Internal Affairs to intensify the protection of public order in the

republic's towns until 20 May by introducing permanent patrols and arming the patrols accordingly.

Defense Ministry Explains Lithuania Actions

LD2504193291 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—The Soviet Defence Ministry reported today that the uproar in some mass media organs about Soviet Army servicemen allegedly "capturing property" in Lithuania does not correspond to the truth.

A spokesman for the Defence Ministry press centre reported with reference to the headquarters of the Baltic Military District, that some time ago the ministry had provided the Voluntary Society for the Assistance to the Army, Air Force and Navy (DOSAAF) of Lithuania with more than 200 trucks for the purpose of training drivers for the Army and the Navy. After the illegal liquidation of DOSAAF branches by the Lithuanian authorities, the trucks got into the hands of other persons. Despite repeated demands, they refused to give them back to their rightful owners.

This is why the command of the Baltic Military District began to take measures to recover the trucks in the morning of April 25. Garrison commanders assigned for this purpose the units with drivers and truck tractors. On that day about 150 trucks were recovered and sent to units of the Baltic Military District, the press centre reports.

TASS Reports on Vilnius Bank Incident Refuted

LD2504163391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Interview with Supreme Council Representative Audrius Azubalis by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] [passage omitted] Tell me, is there an official assessment of these actions by the military [in occupying a Commercial Bank branch]?

[Azubalis] Yes, we can describe them as a resumption of the open military aggression against the Republic of Lithuania, and this new twist of new aggressive actions causes us great concern. There also immediately arises the thought—or perhaps it would be better to say assumption—that all these military actions mean either that the supreme government—let us put it like that—of the Soviet Union is no longer in control of the situation in the Baltic countries; I mean they are not in control of the situation regarding actions of the military, that the army has got out of control, or, quite the opposite [words indistinct] at the very highest level, on the part of the Soviet Union.

Why do I say that? If you recall yesterday's conversation between Laivian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis and Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, you will recall his assurance in that conversation yesterday whereby Vitaliy Doguzhiyev said that military force would not be used in any event, that all controversial issues can and must be solved by political means.

Here I should also like very briefly to comment on the TASS report of 24 April. It says that servicemen of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] placed the Vilnius Commercial Bank under guard. It could be better put: not under guard—we all know what placed under guard means, for example the television and radio building—it can be said that they occupied that building. Later on the report gives an interview with the president of the bank. He says that the republican authorities had resorted to the help of fighters from the department of defense of the country, who had seized our premises on 18 April. They had started to dictate their conditions, not allowing people to come to work, threatening them, etc. Because of the situation that had arisen, we were forced to appeal to the leadership of the MVD of the USSR for help to place the bank under guard. Well, I should like to solemnly state that none of our leaders of the department of defense of the country and none of their staff has every been in that bank, had no dealings with the bank, and had no relationship with it. It was a total fabrication.

I should like to note the other aspect, that these two reports from TASS contradict each other. In the first report of 24 April it says that a TASS reporter learned at the USSR MVD press center that Boris Pugo had not given these instructions to seize the bank. The next report, on the same day from TASS says in an interview with the president of the commercial Bank in Najoji Vilnia, the (?branch) of the Commercial Bank, Aleksey Mishakov, that, (?I quote) that we appealed for help to the leadership of the MVD of the USSR to have the bank placed under guard on the basis of the decree of the USSR president of 12 October 1990 on the preservation of social property of the country. I should like to put the following rhetorical question: Who is it who heads the MVD of the USSR? Of course, Boris Pugo. [passage omitted]

Official Remarks on Soviet Military 'Plundering'

LD2504133191

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian at 0835 GMT on 25 April broadcasts a seven-minute interview with Stanislova Ramoska, deputy director of the Vytis State Sports Equipment Organization, by program announcer Vidas Linkevicius. Ramoska says: "I would like to begin with the events that took place yesterday during the evening. We received information that wide-ranging attacks on the installations that formerly belonged according to them, to DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] which now are subordinate to the Vytis State Sports Equipment Organization, were in preparation. We warned the staff about it; everything possible was

done: the best equipment and seals. Money, documents, valuable documents, bank accounting documents, were removed to safe places. At night the received information was confirmed. At about 0430 they attacked the Marijampole Technical School."

Ramoska goes on to say that according to information provided by Karalius, director of the school, the servicemen started plundering the school property. He then says that according to their calculations, the Vytis Organization had not received payments from the military for the training of Army specialists last year, which had been agreed upon by contract. He says, therefore, the equipment now belonged to them. Ramoska says: "We will not agree to hand it over in a friendly way. Of course, the strength is on their side," he notes.

Ramoska also notes that "the Siauliai Technical School, the hotel in Alkytus, and the Kiviskes Flying Club have been occupied."

Talking about the Soviet troops and their behavior, Ramoska says. "I think that if open acts of plundering begin, if nobody is responsible for their actions and behave in any way they choose—well, I have just received a phone call from Klaipeda. According to them, they have taken the school under their protection. A colonel, who did not give his name, tried to prove that the equipment was their property, and that they would take it away. I said that if you arrive here with tanks and machine guns, then I would tell my staff that even the most modern piece of equipment is not worth a human life." He says that the issue is the subject for interstate negotiations, and should be solved that way.

Speaking about the behavior of the Soviet paratroopers, Ramoska says: "I saw it with my own eyes, when a soldier was pointing a machine gun right into the face of Mr. A. Norvial, director general of our organization." He then says that he remarked about this to the commanding officer of the unit, saying that "if you can do this—in broad daylight, with hundreds of people witnessing it—to a deputy of the Supreme Council, who is protected by law and has the immunity of a deputy, then what are you capable of doing when there are no witnesses, or what did you do in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, or Afghanistan?"

Ramoska says that "this does not fit in with the normal human way of thinking. Either they are absolutely under no control, or something, somewhere, happened, about which we do not know. This makes things even more frightening; this means that plundering is the state policy." Speaking about the prognosis for the nearest future, he says that "flying clubs will be occupied, and the equipment plundered—not only from Vilnius, but also from other flying clubs."

Ramoska the expresses the opinion that this was all done on the initiative of the local commanders, and names General Taurinskas and Colonel Fomenko.

Landsbergis Views 'Armed Robbery' Incidents

LD2504180991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1610 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Speech by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis at Supreme Council Plenary sitting in Vilnius on 25 April—recorded]

[Text] After the attack on the customs office near Medininkai and after the world public was informed about it, many people focused their attention on a stolen radio reciever. These are not just misunderstandings or pure provocations against our state institutions, in the hope that there will be some resistance or a clash; they are also simple robbery, occasions for plunder.

This is being done today and we do not know whether this series of attacks will continue this evening, tonight and so on. Not long ago there was a vehicle with a "people" sign near the Supreme Council; it drove around and departed. You know what the sign "people" on a vehicle means.

From information available to us we have the impression that these are not claims to the property of the so-called DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] which existed in the past, because the DOSAAF Central Committee in Moscow does not know anything about these actions. It seems that these military units and sub-units are acting on the orders and invitation of the local CPSU organization, probably with the approval and encouragement of the Baltic Military District. I will try to phone the military district in order to elucidate whether the supreme command is aware of such actions and is blessing them or not.

But we are facing a certain dilemma in state behavior. We did not want confrontations and we used to condemn provocations or insulting utterances against the Soviet Army, but in this case we see that people are acting who sometimes cannot be regarded as soldiers of another state, or that they are not only soldiers but also uncontrolled robbers.

How should we react to the cases of armed robbery? Maybe, somebody will be able to comment on the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] entering the cash repository at the agro-industrial bank in Naujoji Vilnia. This is a bank to which no claims are made. But seven armed people entered it and Lithuania's policemen did not resist. But this is a cash office, cash repository where cannot be [words indistinct].

Now when we see the use of other kinds of army units for some provocative political aims, allowing them to plunder at the same time, we must define our stand, both state and legal. I would like to invite laywer deputies to work without delay in preparing a Supreme Council resolution which, on the one hand, would contain a warning to people who happen to face such robbery [passage indistinct] in a hotel which was attacked and

people intimidated early this morning in Alytus, people who may suffer by losing their property, health and so on, and would be based on an amendment to the Constitution adopted by us on the right of every citizen to defend [words indistinct] his home from armed attackers, or make some explanation [words indistinct] his home from armed attackers, or make some explanations [words indistinct] and also a warning to soldiers, first of all, ordinary soldiers, who [words indistinct] not punished or even encouraged, so that they will know that in case of such actions they are not only soldiers of a foreign army carrying out some attacks, but are also responsible as plunderers. They will be responsible if they are detained in accordance with Lithuania's law. The possession or non-possession of uniform during the robbery should not make any difference [words indistinct] so that they are not misled by their leaders [words indistinct].

At the same time, probably a separate resolution would be essential to define our instruction to the government which, on its part, would [words indistinct] the Ministry of Internal affairs and the country's defense department what and when [words indistinct] resistance to armed attack. (?The use of arms) which is more clear as far as the police is concerned, although our policemen are very careful, may be, [words indistinct] to oppose intruding attackers with weapons. People without any arms resist, and the stand of the police should also be seen. It should not be less that that of women who, unarmed, take a stand against armed intruders.

And also [words indistinct] small but able symbolically to resist the country's defense forces.

Thus I repeat my proposal to the corresponding commissions or directly to the deputies, not only lawyers but also others, urging them to take up the initiative and prepare a clear and concise resolution [words indistinct] thank you for your attention.

Vagnorius Offers Possible 'Compromise'

PM2504175491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Nikolay Lashkevich from Vilnius: "What Will Lithuania Do?"]

[Text] Lithuania is prepared to make significant compromises if the USSR first recognizes the status of the independent Lithuanian state, the republic's Prime Minister G. Vagnorius stated at a press conference on his return from Canada.

During the trip to Canada a number of agreements on intentions were signed with Canadian businessmen: on building an agricultural enterprise in Lithuania, leasing a sovkhoz [state farm] in the republic, developing telephone communications, building an international airport in Vilnius, and so forth. Another purpose of the visit was to seek to galvanize Western policy regarding Lithuania's dialogue with the Soviet Union.

The prime minister expressed a negative attitude toward possible raw materials sanctions on the part of the USSR. He stated that "Lithuania will hold out to the end" and will adopt a number of retaliatory measures; in particular, it will establish stricter border control, prepare a landing site for receiving oil by tanker from the sea, and so forth. At the same time G. Vagnorius warned that the cost of the losses to Lithuania will be vast, as it will be, incidentally, for the Soviet Union too, and that economic links should not be broken by levers of this kind, which are based on political interests.

Answering a question from IZVESTIYA's correspondent, who asked what political steps the Lithuanian Government could take to remove the threat of sanctions, the prime minister stated that first of all it is necessary to meet with V. Pavlov to discuss pressing problems. According to him, the Lithuanian side has already taken the initiative here. Furthermore it is important to galvanize the process of talks and bilateral meetings at various levels.

Lithuanian Law on 1991 Budget Published

PM2504111991 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 17 Apr 91 p 1

["Lithuanian Republic Law on the Lithuanian Republic State Budget for 1991 and Normative Payments Into to Local Authority Budgets, and Subsidies" signed by V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet in Vilnius on 29 March]

[Text] The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet resolves:

Article 1. To ratify the Lithuanian state budget for 1991 at 5,652,493,000 rubles [R] in income and expenditure and R31 million in circulating capital (Appendix No. 1).

Article 2. To lay down that 60 percent of income tax revenue from individuals will be channeled into local authority budgets.

Article 3. To set the total subsidy to local authority budgets at R712,297,000 (Appendix No. 2).

Article 4. To set appropriations in the Lithuanian state budget for the upkeep of organs of state power, administration, and law and order at R91,698,000 (Appendix No. 3).

Article 5. To lay down that in 1991 payments of land taxes shall be distributed to the budgets of local authorities at both [city and district] levels to an extent sufficient to ensure that, together with other sources of income, funding for planned expenditure will be guaranteed.

V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.

Vilnius, 29 March 1991.

Lithuanian Party Plenum Held; Laws Examined

PM2504101991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent Yu. Stroganov report: "Lithuanian Communists' Council"]

[Text] Vilnius, 22 Apr—A Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum has been held, discussing the progress made in fulfilling the 21st Lithuanian Communist Party Congress decisions on socioeconomic policy and agrarian issues. It was noted that the laws adopted by the legislature and those under preparation form the legal basis for the restoration of the prewar bourgeois system. The consequences arising from the destruction of the socialist economy are being aggravated by the severing of ties with the Union and increasing nationalism. The people's standard of living has already dropped by a factor of three or four under the weight of taxes and "liberated" prices in excess of the Union's prescribed maximum level. At the same time, expenditure on maintaining organs of state power and management has increased by a factor of 5.2 this year in comparison with 1989.

The plenum participants said they will continue to defend working people's interests and vigorously implement the socioeconomic policy defined by the 28th CPSU Congress and the 21st Lithuanian Communist Party Central Congress.

M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, informed the plenum participants about the Central Committee's work.

Lithuanian Supreme Council Speaker Elected

LD2504084491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Polish 1500 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] The [Lithuanian] Supreme Council continued its work today. Debates were conducted on a draft decision on the conditions of deputies' work. Articles concerning the participation of the deputies at plenary sittings and their responsibilities were drawn up.

Aurimas Taurantas was elected speaker of the Supreme Council.

Lithuanian Party Press Gains Union Status

PM2504134191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Gromak: "Newspapers Have Emerged from 'Underground'"]

[Text] Vilnius—On 21 April 1991 at the eighth Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, presented periodical publication registration certificates from the USSR State Committee for the Press to the editors of the newspapers OTCHIZNA, TARIBU LETUVA, and LITVA SOVETSKAYA.

Until now the newspapers of the Lithuanian Communist Party had to overcome agonizing difficulties on the path of publication. At first the journalists were deprived of their printing plant base, then a kind of wall was erected between newspapers and readers with instructions to the mail service not to deliver publications to subscribers. Finally the authorities resorted to extreme measures which form no part of any democracy—they outlawed the publisher—the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. The newspapers in fact became illegal.

For the umpteenth time, a way out has been found. Requests from the Lithuanian Communist Party and numerous readers and the editorial office collectives have met with support and understanding. The newspapers have acquired union status.

This is not only legal recognition giving the right to distribute newspaper legally throughout the territory of the USSR, including Lithuania. A reliable legal guarantee has finally appeared of the protection of the difficult and strenuous activity of journalists from newspapers released from the underground.

RSFSR

Moscow TV Carries Supreme Soviet Proceedings

25 Apr

LD2504221691

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 2012 GMT on 25 April begins carrying its scheduled program of recorded highlights from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet Session proceedings in the Kremlin on 25 April.

The program opens with session chairman RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin ensuring there is a quorum. He then reads a statement on the 25 April anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster. He says it affected millions of lives and the noxious cloud affected other countries, too. There is no excuse for the behavior of people who failed to take the necessary measures following the accident, he states. Yeltsin says we must have a clear document on this. The presidium and commissions are instructed to do further work on the decision by Saturday.

At 2020 GMT Yeltsin says the next item is changes and additions to the republican criminal code.

At 2021 GMT Deputy Mityukov, deputy chairman of the Committee on Legislation, outlines changes and additions, citing individual paragraphs. The legislative committee believes they should be adopted in full, he states.

At 2033 GMT Mityukov replies to a question on how a provision applies to persons who have not yet served their sentences, and those who have.

At 2036 GMT Yeltsin asks for a vote on whether the amendments to the code on administrative violations should be adopted as a whole. The amendments are passed: 102 for, one against, four abstentions. The draft decision on speculation and retail malpractices is passed: 190 for, two against, seven abstentions.

At 2041 GMT a deputy returns to the Chernobyl decision and suggests that a Presidium decision would suffice. What about the oil-pipeline incident in Tataria, he asks.

At 2043 GMT Yeltsin moves briskly to the next item on the agenda: discussion of the draft law on the land code of the republic.

Deputy Khvastun of the RSFSR Committee for Land Reform outlines the main points for the second reading of the land code bill, and answers questions from Deputies (Bereznikov) and (Deryagin) on delays in implementation of agricultural reform and other matters.

Deputy Yevtushenko asks about ethnic groups and their traditional activities, such as fishing and hunting.

Khvastun replies to a question by Deputy (kasovkin) on who sets land quotas. Deputy (Timashev) asks who will regulate disputes.

At 2100 GMT Deputy (Vlasik) states that the Soviet Union and the RSFSR are practically the only places in the world without a town planning code. The land code of the RSFSR contains old phrases.

Khvastun remarks that this is a document for the interim period. Future realities cannot find full reflections in present legislation. He says that towns should dispose of suburban zones, to obviate the conflict between town and oblast soviets.

Ryabov asks a question on the resolution of land disputes. He says that Chapter 13, dealing with this, is extremly contradictory because there is no understanding of agricultural disputes. He asks for this section to be radically reworked.

Khvastun says that this section is far from perfect, but other formulas have not been found. He asks for the adoption of the law as a whole to be put to the vote. The law is adopted: 86 votes in favor, none against, and one abstention.

At 2114 GMT deputies open debate on the decision on the administration of the law. The decision is put to a vote. The decision is passed: 183 votes in favor, two against, and two abstentions.

Ryabov takes the floor and says that a budget, revised in the light of the rise in retail prices, has been passed to the commissions and committees.

Debate moves on to a resolution on measures to prepare for the privatization of state and municipal property. An unidentified deputy says the objective of the resolution is to instruct local bodies to prepare proposals on the denationalization and privatization program. The draft resolution is also interconnected with previous resolutions, he notes.

At 2120 GMT questions are taken from the floor on the draft resolution. (Bezrogov) asks about time-scales of the resolution, saying the proposals should be made this year.

Deputy Vorukhin asks about joint-stock companies. He is overruled, and debate continues on the time-scale of the draft resolutions. A vote is taken on the privatization resolution as a whole, and is adopted: 156 in favor, 13 against, and 14 abstentions.

Deputy Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov asks to be released from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. His release is passed by a vote.

Khasbulatov says Yeltsin will answer questions in the Chamber of Nationalities at 1800 on the republican-Union accord.

The program ends at 2135 GMT.

24 Apr

LD2404215791

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1922 GMT on 24 April carries a 27-minute program of recorded excerpts from the proceedings of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) held in Moscow on 24 April.

The announcer says that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet discussed the law relating to the Russian presidency, and it was decided to adopt the law article by article.

At 1923 GMT Deputy Shakray states that the text they have been given contains amendments received from deputies. For example, one proposal says that the election should be funded by the republican state budget. Soldiers are also given the right to propose candidates. Any party or organization has the right to propose one candidate, and 100,000 signatures are needed for a candidate to be put forward. Candidates will be given equal time to speak at the congress of deputies. Several proposals from Russian Communists have been accepted; for example, the procedure for appealing against the rejection of a candidate. There is a procedure for a second round of voting if no candidate is elected.

At 1930 GMT RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Yeltsin invites questions. An unidentified deputy asks how military units can put forward candidates when citizens from outside Russia serve together with Russians. Shakhray says that this was considered, but the

balance of arguments was such that military units were given such a right nevertheless.

(?Ozereval) asks about the duties of the vice president. Shakray answers that this is not like the U.S. system, where the vice president can take on the duties of the president. Our vice president is only a deputy, and in the event of the removal of a president, the Supreme Soviet will decide on a new president, he says.

Deputy Zaytsev asks a question on a procedural matter.

Deputy (?Sumov) says that a federative treaty has not yet been concluded. What will happen if one or more parts of the republic do not participate in the elections? Shakray says the election of a Russian president will stimulate the conclusion of a federative treaty.

At 1936 GMT the announcer says that the law on presidential elections was adopted after discussion, and introduces excerpts from that discussion.

An unidentified deputy complains about the clause limiting the age range for presidential candidates to 35-65 years. If this had been the case in the United States Reagan would not have been elected he says. A vote is held on this, but the age limits are retained.

An unidentified deputy proposes minor amendments to various articles.

The first article of the law is voted on and adopted. The law as a whole is voted on and adopted.

At 1942 GMT the program shows the evening session, at which Shakray presented the draft law on the presidency. The text of the law is distributed, including amendments proposed by deputies. The president is responsible for fulfilling the decisions of the congress, and congress has the right to call the president to report on his implementation of its decisions. The president cannot use his powers to change the state structure of the RSFSR. Shakray proposes to adopt the document as a basis.

At 1948 GMT the announcer says that the deputies discussed the law for three hours and that it will be put to the Congress of People's Deputies.

The program ends at 1949 GMT.

Yeltsin Opens Joint Session

LD2504104491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The work of the Russian legislature is continuing. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin today opened a joint session of the chambers, and the first item that the deputies began debating was the inclusion of changes and additions to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Criminal Code, and the RSFSR code session is necessary with the introduction of presidential rule in the republic.

Also on today's agenda are a second reading of the draft law on a land code, and a discussion of measures in preparation for the process of the privatization of state and municipal property.

Says Gorbachev Recognizes Sovereignty

LD2504202291 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Thursday informed Russian parliamentarians about the meeting of Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev with the leaders of nine Soviet republics on April 23.

They made a joint statement on urgent measures to stabilise the situation in the country and overcome the current crisis.

Yeltsin said that by signing the statement with the leaders of the nine republics, Gorbachev recognised their sovereignty. Yeltsin described it as "a great victory".

He said that although the original document proposed by Gorbachev underwent many changes during the meeting, it contains all proposals made by Russia.

The leaders agreed that autonomous entities should sign a new Union treaty within delegations from Soviet republics, in which they belong, rather than independently. According to Boris Yeltsin, the republics didn't support the idea of signing the Union treaty already in May.

He said that republics that will not sign the treaty have the right to secede from the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev reported about the results of his meeting with the leaders of nine Soviet republics to the plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on Wednesday.

He said the statement will "play a role in stabilising the political and economic situation in the country, pooling efforts to overcome difficulties, with which society lived, and implementing measures to bring the country out of the crisis".

Announces Miners To End Strikes

LD2604044191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2359 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Excerpt] Moscow, April 25 (TANJUG)—Parliamentary President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin this evening announced that the miners' strike in the Soviet Union will end on 1 May. At a closed session of the Russian parliament, Yeltsin said that a document will be signed April 30, which should contribute to ending the miners' strike in a "nice way". [passage omitted]

Land Code Adopted

LD2504173191 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Boris Zverev and Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—The Russian parliament on Thursday discussed documents relating to the formation of market relations in the republic.

Deputies adopted the Russian Land Code in the second reading. The code regulates the rights and duties of landowners and their relations with bodies of power.

The code proclaims the diversity and equality of state, farm, cooperative, private and joint ownership and promotes the development of all forms of economic management, including state, collective, and individual farms, their cooperatives and associations.

The document says that forms of ownership in republics within the Russian Federation can be determined by their laws.

The parliament also adopted a resolution on measures to prepare privatisation of state and municipal property in the republic.

The resolution instructs the governments of Russia and its constituent republics, as well as local governing bodies to prepare their proposals on the privatisation programme in 1991.

Aid to Chernobyl Victims Urged

LD2504122491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The fate of hundreds of thousands if not millions of people was literally wrecked by the major technological catastrophe of the 20th century, the accident at Chernobyl AES, [Atomic Energy Station] said Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, speaking today on the eve of the fifth anniversary of this tragedy at a session of the Russian legislature.

The scale of the consequences of Chernobyl was aggravated, Boris Yeltsin stressed, by the fact that irresponsibility and disregard for people's fate which had become traditional did not allow everything possible to be done after the accident. On this sad anniversary it is not just words of sympathy which are required, he stated. We must continue practical work to overcome the consequences of the catastrophe. The head of the Russian legislature said that one of the main conditions for this was to unite the efforts of the three fraternal Slavonic peoples of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia and constructive cooperation among all politcal forces which express their interests.

At Yeltsin's proposal, the deputies instructed the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet at its next meeting on 27 April to adopt a ramified decision on the social protection of citizens subjected to the effects of radiation as a consequence of the accident at Chernobyl AES.

That was a report from the Russian News Agency.

Trade Union Official Discusses 26 Apr Protest

LD2504160791 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—An all-Russian warning protest action will be held on Friday in the largest union republic, despite the appeal of the Soviet president and leaders of nine union republics to stop strikes.

This decision was taken by two main initiators of the protest action—the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of the Russian Federation and the Democratic Russia movement.

A joint statement on urgent measures for stabilising the situation in the country and overcoming the crisis published on Wednesday, which was signed by President Gorbachev, head of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin and heads of eight other union republics, urges miners and all working people to "stop strikes for economic and political motives."

The protest action will be held in various forms, including strikes. The main demand of the trade union federation is the creation of a social protection system, spokesman for the federation's press service Aleksandr Bogomolov told TASS. Russian trade unions demand 24-day leaves, a 40-hour working week and the fixing of minimal wages on the level of 195 roubles in the current year already.

The federation did not change its intentions because of the fact that a statement, issued by federal and republican leaders, promises to meet some of the socio-economic demands, put forward by the organisers of the protest action. "The federal leadership made many promises, but far from all of them were fulfilled," Bogomolov said.

The independent trade unions are dissociating themselves from political demands, although, according to Bogomolov, in the current situation "any economic demand acquires a political character, whether we wish it or not."

The Democratic Russia movement, which supports Yeltsin, who also signed the joint statement, reiterated its decision to hold the protest action at today's session of its coordinating council, Aleksandr Bukharin, a member of the coordinating council, told TASS. Unlike the trade union federation, however, Democratic Russia is laying emphasis on supporting political demands of the striking miners—the resignation of the president and the union government, as well as the dissolution of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

The all-Russian warning protest action will be held on the last hour of the working day in the form of a work stoppage by some labour collectives at enterprises, institutions and transport strictly in accordance with the rules.

According to Bukharin, some 500 enterprises have already announced their intention to take part in the strike.

RSFSR Economy Shows Decline

LD2504175491 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—The results of the performance of Russia's economy in the first quarter of 1991 have been summed up. According to the republican committee for statistics, national income went down by 8 per cent as against the first quarter of 1990, which is the result of a further decline of the output of key industries and the reduction of revenues coming from foreign trade. Labour productivity in the social sector went down by 7 per cent.

The volume of export deliveries was nine billion foreign currency roubles—7.2 per cent down in comparison with the first quarter of 1990.

Processes connected with the creation of market structures are developing in the republic in accordance with the adopted laws and resolutions. The turning over of state-owned enterprises to other owners and privatisation of property are gaining in scope in the branches connected with material production and the services sector.

Labour resources of the Russian Federation amount to 87 million people. About 72.9 million are employed in all spheres of the republican economy. In conditions of the transition to the market-based economy the problem of employment is becoming acute. Along with the unemployed, 840,000 vacant jobs were registered early this year. Russia's industry produced 71.1 billion roubles worth of consumer goods (in retail prices), which is 2.0 billion roubles (3 per cent more) than in the first quarter of 1990. However, the growth of prices is the main reason for this increment.

The situation in the fuel and energy complex seriously deteriorated. Miners' strikes in March aggravated even more the situation with coal delivery to consumers. Direct losses amounted to 3.7 million tonnes. On the whole, coal output was smaller than in the first quarter of 1990 by 11 million tonnes. Coking coal, which is in high demand, accounts for about half of this volume. The lagging behind of oil extraction, including gas condensate, amounted to 13 million tonnes in the first quarter of 1991. Gas extraction remained practically on the level of the previous year. Electricity output was increased by 2 per cent mostly through the growth of electricity generation at hydroelectric power plants. The reduction of electricity generation at nuclear power plants was 6 per cent.

The irregular work of the coal industry further aggravated the already critical situation in the metallurgical complex. A whole technological cycle of metallurgical production was disrupted, which resulted in the reduction of output of its main products: cast iron—by 1.1 million tonnes, steel—by 1.4 million, ferrous-metal rolled stock—by 1.1 million, steel pipes—by 144,000 tonnes.

The situation in the agro-industrial complex of the republic perceptibly worsened in the first quarter of 1991. Agricultural output, purchasing and deliveries of livestock products to the federal and republican reserves were dramatically reduced.

Russian collective and state farms sold from January to March, this year, 2.2 million tonnes of livestock and poultry (94 per cent of a total volume of purchases), 6.7 million tonnes of milk (96 per cent) and 7 billion eggs (94 per cent) to pay their food tax and fulfill the state order.

On April 22, collective and state farms sowed spring crops on 6.8 million hectares, including grain and legumes (without corn)—on 5.0 million hectares. Not all farms have seeds of spring crops. There are interruptions in the supply to farms of material and technical resources and fuel and lubricating materials.

Leaders Urge Defense of Lenin's Name, Work

PM2504152191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at Museum"]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee leadership had a meeting with the collective of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum 22 April at the museum. I.K. Polozkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee; RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Secretaries I.I. Antonovich, V.I. Kashin, A.G. Melnikov, and N.P. Silkova; N. Stolyarov, chairman of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission, and senior apparatus officials took part in it.

Polozkov and Stolyarov addressed the meeting's participants, pointing out that the founder and leader of the world's first socialist state is being discredited in the complex domestic political situation in the country and the unfolding power struggle. They urged Communists to defend Lenin's name and work against slanderous attacks and fabrications and tell every person the truth about Ilich's actions and character.

The leaders of the RSFSR Communist Party viewed the museum exhibits and laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum.

Bashkir Soviet Chairman Discusses Sovereignty

91UN1331A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with M.G. Rakhimov, chairman of the Bashkir SSR Supreme Soviet, by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent M. Merzabekov in Ufa; date not given: "The Price of Confrontation"]

[Text] [Merzabekov] Murtaza Gubaydullovich, prior to the Third Extraordinary RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congress of People's Deputies—more precisely, on 13 February this year—you wrote an article published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA entitled "What We Have Managed to 'Swallow.'" In reflecting on the concept of Union and Federative treaties, you appealed in particular to B.N. Yeltsin, who introduced into the process of state restructuring of the Russian autonomies what has become a pithy saying—"Take what sovereignty you will be able to 'swallow.'" You were talking about the fact that Boris Nikolayevich's promises were not backed up by legislative support from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. On the contrary, attempts were made to declare invalid the new statuses proclaimed by the autonomous republics. What has happened in your view? Do we see any changes today in the position of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet leadership with respect to this problem, when looked at in light of the materials and decisions of the third congress?

[Rakhimov] Yes, changes have taken place. But, unfortunately, they are changes toward retardation of the process, a leap backward. The autonomous republics to which Boris Nikolayevich handed out unlimited sovereignty have today seemingly been declared coparticipants, together with the center, in the collapse of Russia. Let us just look at some portions of B.N. Yeltsin's speech at the congress:

"Waging war against the law became the cradle of the so-called 'parade of sovereignties.' We must declare with all responsibility that the roots of the 'parade of sovereignties' grow not from the Declaration of RSFSR State Sovereignty, as attempts are often made to show, but from declarations adopted as early as April 1990 with the most gross violations of the USSR Constitution and Constitutions of Union republics, and the USSR Law 'On Separation of Powers Between the USSR and Federation Entities.' It is the center that started the 'parade of sovereignties' on the territory of the Russian Federation.... For the sake of objectivity it must be acknowledged that the Russian Federation leadership committed a number of errors. In the struggle for influence over the autonomies, it was dragged into a competition with the center in the distribution of 'sovereignties'.... The time has come to stop this! The logic of extricating ourselves from this impasse is simple and obvious, and is stated in the proposed draft Declaration on the Basic Principles of National-State Structuring of the RSFSR. Russia must reach agreement with its republics, and the center must help it do this!"

Thank you for your frankness, Boris Nikolayevich. In distributing sovereignties ("who can swallow how much"), it now becomes clear that you are not looking after the future of "your own" republics and their peoples but have just been "fighting for influence over the autonomies." And the center, it turns out, is guilty of having "dragged you in." If you consider the abovementioned law of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 26 April 1990 as being unconstitutional, if it is tearing Russia down, then why, esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, are you in such a hurry to "outrun" the center in distributing sovereignties? What is going on—are you competing in unconstitutionality? Is anything permissible in the "struggle for influence over the autonomies"?

And we in the autonomies rejoiced! But it turns out we were simply pawns in a political game between you and the center. And now you are demanding that the center must help you reach agreement with the autonomies. It would be interesting to know: On what basis? Perhaps in declaring a new "competition to reacquire" the sovereignties you have distributed?

But we absolutely disagree with you, Boris Nikolayevich, in your interpretation of the USSR Law "On Separation of Powers Between the USSR and Federation Entities" which you accuse of initiating the "parade of sovereignties." On the contrary, we believe that this Union law alone did much more for the former autonomies than all the resolutions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on this account. Because in it we are recognized as entities of the Union, placed on an equal-rights footing with the Union republics. While the Russian legislature, as you know, has not adopted a single law or taken a single decision that would raise the status of the former autonomies. Not counting, of course, competition in promising sovereignties.

[Merzabekov] Murtaza Gubaydullovich, I completely understand your feelings as the leader of Bashkortostan and a patriot of your republic. But what will become of Russia if it is divided up into "autonomous compartments?" After all, was it not on the shoulders of a great and unified Russia that the might of the powerful Soviet state was primarily built?

[Rakhimov] Let me tell you that it is the very people who are the loudest in frightening Russians with Russia's collapse that are most zealously tearing it down. And this is the same tactical maneuver which yesterday comprised the "distribution of sovereignties." This "collapse" variant again issues from within the RSFSR Supreme Soviet leadership. Characteristic in this regard is an article written by S. Shakhray, chairman of the Legislation Committee of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet—

"The Draft Union Treaty and the Fate of the Russian State"—published 15 March 1991 in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. I quote:

"The draft Union treaty presupposes an independent (outside the RSFSR delegation) signing of this treaty by the republics included within the Russian Federation. Provisions in the draft on membership in the Union (Article 1), on the correlation between Union and republic legislation (Article 10), on procedure for signing the Union treaty (Article 23), and certain other provisions show that these republics get the opportunity to unilaterally secede from the RSFSR (which would reduce RSFSR territory by more than 50 percent).... The formerly unified Federative Russia dissolves within the 'renewed Union,' ceases to exist as an integral state, and is denied the opportunity of formulating and defending common Russian interests. Collapse of the RSFSR will have consequences for millions of Russian inhabitants. It will turn out that just one single nation remains with the right to self-determination unrealized—the Russian nation. We must not 'strengthen the Union' at the cost of Russia's collapse."

It is entirely evident that S. Shakhray's position reflects the policy of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet leadership with respect to the draft Union treaty. As we see, first they nudged the autonomies toward the "parade of sovereignties," and now they are disposing the Russian nation toward opposing sovereignty of the former autonomous republics. In this respect, Shakhray's seemingly correct argument that we must not strengthen the Union at the cost of Russia's collapse fails to inspire confidence, to put it mildly.

We might be permitted to ask: Can we strengthen Russia while tearing down the Union, which many steps being taken by the Russian leadership are aimed at achieving, directly or indirectly? Consider the appeals to miners to strike to a "victorious conclusion," until the political aim of resignation of the central leadership is attained. Or separate negotiations with the nationalist leaders of certain republics. What is this—is it for the benefit of Russia or Russia's inhabitants? Come on! Even a simpleton can understand that these are political games to achieve arrogantly ambitious ends. Like the war of laws, which has seemingly become the strategic policy of the Russian leadership.

It is entirely mistaken that Boris Nikolayevich and certain of his assistants have blamed everything on the USSR law of 26 April 1990. Who, if not the Russian Federation, pushed Bashkiria and other autonomous republics into adoption of their own declarations? B.N. Yeltsin talks about the unconstitutionality of the Union Law "On Separation of Powers...." But did the First RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies, having adopted the Declaration on RSFSR Sovereignty immediately following Boris Nikolayevich's election as chairman, not demonstrate open disregard for the USSR Constitution in effect? And was it not this act which opened up the way for the declarations of the former autonomous republics?

Furthermore, does it become the Russian legislators, without undermining the friendship of peoples and Soviet internationalism—which we are not thinking of repudiating, to question the sovereignties of our and other autonomous republics gained through the suffering of our peoples, and which are the consequence of all the processes taking place in the country as a whole? Just as the sovereignty of the RSFSR is not someone's fabrication, but was gained through the suffering of the people of Russia. To blame everything on the USSR law of 26 April 1990 is therefore at the very least frivolous and unethical.

[Merzabekov] Does Boris Nikolayevich deserve to be reproached so often for his words "as much as you can swallow?" In today's struggle for power, the leaders of one political force or another often use a commonly accepted tactic—promise more so as to please the people. B.N. Yeltsin himself now admits that he did this "in the struggle for influence over the autonomies."

[Rakhimov] Such an admission from the head of the Russian legislature does not make it any easier for the autonomies. It turns out that first they lured us to the "gingerbread," i.e., to sovereignty, and then—excuse me—they gave us the finger. During the period the third congress was in session, a meeting took place at our initiative between B.N. Yeltsin and the leaders of the Russian autonomies. Our side posed that same question: Why is the Russian Supreme Soviet moving away from consideration of the declarations of the former autonomous republics? Then we inquired: How is one to understand that portion of the speech acknowledging that errors were made, in "distributing sovereignties," for example? What was I to do, for example, as chairman of the Bashkir SSR Supreme Soviet, I asked Boris Nikolayevich—travel now to Ufa and announce to the Bashkir people that Boris Nikolayevich made a mistake, that he has just taken back his promises?

And what was Comrade Yeltsin's response to this? The discussion was not officially recorded. Perhaps I am not stating exactly, word for word, what was said there, but I will vouch for the accuracy of the meaning. Boris Nikolayevich explained that... if he did not express himself clearly in his speech, if he was not understood correctly, things could be set straight. He assured me further that concluding statements would accurately express the fact that he supports the idea of the sovereignties and adoption of the declarations.

And so we, representatives of all the Russian republics, waited through the course of the congress for the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to confirm, finally, from the high rostrum what he had promised us in the hallways of the congress. But it was in vain. There were no corrections, no clarifications, no confirmation....

Understand me correctly. We are not just talking about Bashkortostan here. As of today, 15 former autonomous republics of the RSFSR, except for Dagestan, have adopted their own declarations of sovereignty. There is a dual attitude toward them. Public statements promote the equal rights of people, but in fact we are condemned for wanting to independently resolve the basic problems of our lives. Entering the fight against our self-determination are such well-known people in legislative circles as A. Sobchak, N. Travkin, and others. Although at the same time the RSFSR readily concludes treaties with neighboring republics. Has the time not come to turn our attention to within Russia as well? We continue as before to call upon the leaders of the Russian Federation to accelerate the process of preparing a treaty between the RSFSR and Bashkir SSR. And we, for our part, are preparing for this.

[Merzabekov] But there was discussion at the congress of the special presentation by R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, on the national-state structuring of the RSFSR (on the Federative treaty), on the results of the RSFSR referendum, and on the treaty on the Union of sovereign republics. How do you assess the course of discussion of this presentation and the resolution adopted?

[Rakhimov] The resolution that was adopted was entirely satisfactory from our point of view. It states: "The RSFSR Supreme Soviet will complete its work on coordinating the draft treaty with the Supreme Soviets of republics included within the RSFSR during April of this year."

But here we are already in the second half of the month devoted to completing coordination of the draft treaty, and there is no movement as yet. Moreover, we perceive the unambiguous inference—do not nurture any illusions regarding independent signing of the Union treaty.

And so I met with R.I. Khasbulatov at the latest session of the Council of the Federation, held literally just days ago. And he told me: "We will probably not permit you (i.e., the autonomies) to sign the Union treaty independently. You will be signing only with the Russian Federation."

Well, what a fine development this is! First of all, who is this "we?" Why must the autonomies get sovereignty only at their exalted pleasure? If Ruslan Imranovich officially refutes the content of our conversation as I have related it here and states that he supports the precise and timely fulfillment of the decisions of the congress on this question, I will be only too happy and will publicly apologize to him.

[Merzabekov] It is probably understandable as the natural desire of one of the leaders of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet—he does not want to lose the entities of a unified, indivisible Russia....

[Rakhimov] Tell me please, where do you see it written that Bashkortostan intends to secede from Russia? On the contrary, we want to be founders of the federative and Union treaties, and thereby delegate a portion of our powers to Russia and the Union. Does this show that we are contemplating secession? Were there any grounds for brandishing the "disintegration of Russia" bugaboo so strongly at the congress? Deputies Shakhray, Maley, Medvedev, and a few others stirred up this theme in their presentations. Was this incitement of passions not aimed at agitating primarily the Russian people, arousing their feelings against the center and the autonomies—which are allegedly tearing down Russia? One gets the impression that Ruslan Imranovich simply cannot get rid of concepts formed within him over past decades, cannot give up the Stalinist postulates on autonomy.

I would like to remind you that the Bashkir Republic emerged in 1919 on the basis of a treaty between the central Soviet power and the government of Bashkiria. Unfortunately, in very short time—less than a year—Russia then repudiated the equal-rights nature of our relations. It has only today become possible to eliminate this historical injustice, under conditions of democratization and glasnost, under conditions of acknowledgement of the contractual nature of the RSFSR and the necessity of effecting a new Union treaty.

[Merzabekov] What impression did the discussion of R.I. Khasbulatov's report at the congress make on you?

[Rakhimov] It was discouraging. This very serious question, determining the fate of the peoples of Russia, was examined flippantly, carelessly, in haste. For some reason people were allotted only five minutes for presentation in the discussion on his report, and many who wanted to speak and had something in fact to say were completely denied access to the microphone. It was evident even to the untrained eye that they hashed the issue around, then wrapped it up. It is felt that B.N. Yeltsin had obtained the most important thing he wanted out of the session. Then, naturally, his aim was to swiftly close down the congress. And he achieved this aim.

I observed the work of the congress and thought: The fate of national-state structure of the Bashkir people, like that of other republics of Russia, is being decided not by the peoples themselves but here in Moscow. And it is being decided by deputies who, in their numerical majority, do not intimately know the past of these peoples or really understand their contemporary problems—spiritual and socioeconomic. Here certain orators at the congress attempted quite noticeably to play on the ethnic sentiment of Russians, portraying oblast regions as having limited representational rights as compared with the autonomies. This does no one any good.

Western Republics

Minsk, Orsha Strikers Continue Actions 25 Apr

LD2504203391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Unidentified TASS correspondent's report from Minsk; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] By 1700, the Lenin and Victory Squares had taken on their normal appearance. The participants in a rally left the squares, but warned they would return tomorrow. Two hours earlier, columns moved along the city's main road to Victory Square, where the republican television and radio center is situated. Representatives of the workers' strike committee began talks with the center's bosses, demanding access to a live broadcast. In the words of one of the strike committee's cochairman, they intended to appeal to the striking workers in Orsha to immediately free the railways. However, the talks did not succeed. The strike committee did not get their live broadcast.

Meanwhile, at noon today, in Orsha, one of the country's largest railroad junctions, strikers blocked the railroad: train movements were completely paralyzed. By 1800, a large number of trains heading west from Moscow, and also trains going east, had been stopped. Attempts to get the trains through by an alternative route were unsuccessful as it was also closed by the strikers. The Orsha workers' demands are as before: The immediate convocation of a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

'All Trains' Stopped in Orsha

LD2504201791 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 1725 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Negotiations between the Orsha strike committee and the government, which were held in the town post office, ended without success. At 1030, the rally participants decided to restart the blockade of the railway junction. This time, pickets were deployed. All trains were stopped. After noon, the demonstrators were joined by workers from the town of (Barani). People's deputies of the Belorussia Soviet Socialist Republic representing Orsha, arrived from Minsk, and negotiations with the town strike committee started. [passage indistinct] The rally participants decided to continue the blockade. [passage indistinct] By 2000, many trains were held up. [passage indistinct]

Orsha Situation Called 'Alarming'

LD2604094591 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0300 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] On 25 April, the square outside the government building was filled this morning by tens of thousands of people. Again there was a rally, heated appeals, and noncompromise decisions. They are mostly the same and the main one is the convocation of an extraordinary session of the [Belorussian] Supreme Soviet.

Among reports from the provinces, which are from time to time announced at the square, the report from Orsha sounded alarming. Since this morning the railway has been blocked again. As we have informed you, on 24 April, trains were stuck in the area of Orsha from 1700 to 2000. The railwaymen have nothing to do with these events. Yesterday, one of the main arteries of the republic and the country was again cut off.

At 1140 the strike committee gathered for an emergency meeting at the city executive committee. There was just one question: what to do next? After short debates, it was decided to send a delegation to the Supreme Soviet Presidium with the demand to provide the Minsk strike committee with a live broadcast to address the Orsha strikers with an appeal to leave and avoid a collision with the special purpose militia detachment [Omon]. If the presidium refuses, then they plan to go to the television building and demand a live broadcast. If the demand is satisfied, the Minsk strike committee intends to stop the city strike on 26 April and address other strike committees of the republic with a proposal to start preparations for a general republican political strike on 21 May, on the day the republic's Supreme Soviet session opens.

At 1500 the columns of strikes went along Lenin Avenue in the direction of the telecenter.

At 1700 the BELTA correspondents got in touch with (Schchelnikov), first deputy chief of the railways. The situation in Orsha has not changed. The pickets stayed on the lines as before. At the approaches to the station from both directions, a large number of trains was halted.

The leaders of the strike committee did not obtain consent for a live broadcast from the Belorussian Committee for Television and Radio. They asked the workers, who were waiting for an answer at Victory Square, to disperse.

In the evening, the Minsk City Committee convened. Agreement was reached to suspend the strike. But if (?troops) are used in Orsha, the strike will be resumed immediately.

Capital 'Filled' With Workers

LD2504143391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1308 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Minsk, 25 Apr (TASS)—Today the center of the Belorussian capital was once again filled with strikers, who are holding a rally in support of their demands. Their main demand is the convocation of an extraordinary session of the republican Supreme Soviet.

The refusal by the Presidium of the republican parliament to convene an extraordinary session only added fuel to the flames. On Wednesday evening a major railway junction—the station of Orsha—was blocked for three hours. The republican procurator's office has instituted criminal proceedings about this case, and an investigation has begun.

It has become known today that new actions have been undertaken in Orsha with the aim of paralyzing rail traffic.

Committee Suggests Returning to Work

LD2504161491 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 1300 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The strike in the Belorussian capital has been stopped. During the last minutes of its sitting, the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet did not retreat from its previous decision to convene an ordinary session of the Supreme Soviet on 21 May. Following that, the citizens of Minsk again filled Lenin Square, opposite the government building this morning. A mass rally started, at which workers from the city's industrial enterprises and people's deputies of the Belorussian Republic and the USSR spoke. The demands of the rally's participants were the same as in the first days of the city strike: urgent convocation of an extraordinary session to discuss the economic and political situation that has taken shape in the republic and [words indistinct], and adoption of decisions that would satisfy the demands of the workers.

Meanwhile, to continue the strike any longer would deepen the crisis further. The strike committee suggested that the rally participants go back to work and only on the day of the opening of the session, 21 May, come to the square again with their demands on solving the problems.

Leader Views Strikers' Demand

LD2504165891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The Moscow evening edition of IZVESTIYA carries an interview with Kebich, chairman of the Belorussia Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers. Replying to a correspondent's question whether the strikers' demands have included the self-dissolution of the government, he said: If anybody proposes a more effective program for extricating the republic's economy from the crisis, we shall give up our place to him, but that is up to the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR, and such issues have to be decided constitutionally.

Belorussia's Kebich 'Surprised' by Prices

PM2504192091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with V. Kebich, chairman of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, by IZVESTIYA correspondent M. Shimanskiy in Minsk—date not stated: "'We Were All Deceived....'"]

[Text] [Shimanskiy] Vyacheslav Frantsevich, the situation in Belorussia remains extremely tense. During the recent strikes and mass rallies in Minsk, the republic government was given 10 days for talks with leaders of the city's strike movement. This period expired 22 April, and judging by statements from the leaders of the Minsk strike committee, they are not satisfied with the course and results of the talks. What economic demands were presented to the republic government?

[Kebich] I will stress at once: We understand the working people's reasonable demands and will consider them very attentively. True, the price reform has affected every family, every individual. But such a steep increase in prices came as a surprise not only for the people, but even for the republic government. The price lists received from Moscow in April proved to be entirely different from what had been expected. It is partly for this reason that the Belorussian Government has been put in such a difficult position today. After all, the compensation payments were calculated on the basis of the expected price increases. So people concluded that they had been deceived. Then there was a social explosion in Minsk.

The Minsk city strike committee summarized the labor collectives' economic demands and presented them to the republic government. What are they, specifically? An increase in wages, pensions, allowances, and grants to the entire population of the republic, in proportion to the growth in state retail prices as of 1 April. The abolition in Belorussia of the 5-percent sales tax on all types of consumer goods. Urgent economic reform, with the transfer of ownership from the state to the people. The introduction of private ownership of land and the immediate transfer of land to all who wish to cultivate it.

[Shimanskiy] Can all these demands be met today?

[Kebich] Today the republic is unable to do this, although I repeat: The workers' demands are fundamentally just, and they are right to be indignant. But if the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] had accepted these demands at the talks with leaders of the strike movement, implementing them would have bankrupted the republic. After all, our budget deficit today is 3.5 billion rubles [R]. Economists have calculated that if we meet the demands made, it will double or even triple the budget deficit.

The government sought and is still seeking means of alleviating the consequences of the price reform, although this task is incredibly difficult. The reason is well known not only to the leaders of the strike movement, but to the whole world—it is the Chernobyl disaster. It has already cost the republic more than R60 billion. Do I need to tell you how that affects people's living standard? And we have no moral right to take so much as a ruble out of the republic program for overcoming the consequences of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station accident, people simply would not understand it.

Nonetheless the republic government did find some potential for helping people and alleviating their lives with the new prices. It proved insufficient. We calculated our potential yet again, and urgently. A Belorussian SSR

Council of Ministers resolution was adopted on additional measures for the social protection of the population. I will mention the main measures. Tariffs for the main types of housing and municipal services to the population remain unchanged in the republic. Subsidies are retained on meat, dairy, and fish products, medical supplies, and certain other goods. It is very important that we have at last established the same retail prices for the city and the countryside for food and nonfood goods.

[Shimanskiy] What about the five percent sales tax?

[Kebich] The republic government has found opportunities at least partly to "extricate" people from this five percent. From 2 April this tax does not apply to meat and meat products (except delicatessen products), milk and dairy products, bread and bakery products, all types of groats, flour, pasta, eggs, and sugar. In short, the basic food products. Plus children's clothing, fees for children at preschool institutions, apartment rents, and municipal services. The sales tax has also been abolished for public catering enterprises' own produce. In all, compensation payments and benefits will amount to R14.54 billion this year.

[Shimanskiy] The workers also demanded increased wages.

[Kebich] From this April, there is to be a phased increase in wages for workers and employees in production sectors of the national economy. In the first stage, wages are to increase by an average of 50 percent (40 percent in the nonproduction sphere), which will require some R4 billion by the end of the year.

[Shimanskiy] Where will the republic get the money to fulfill these promises?

[Kebich] We will only have the money on condition that we work well. And this means at every workplace—from the factory machine tool to the head of government's office. Therefore my principle is the strengthening of discipline and order. Democratic principles in our life must be linked organically to a high level of organization and discipline everywhere and in everything.

Funds can and must be found also through cutting the cost of the administrative apparatus. The government entirely agrees with the workers' demands on this point. But look how it works out. Today the total number of administrators in the republic is more than 593,000. Of these, state administrative organs—at republic, oblast, city, rayon, settlement, and rural levels—account for just over 37,000. More than 523,000 administrative personnel are concentrated at enterprises and organizations. The enterprises' administrations and workers must decide how to cut the cost of the administrative apparatus.

[Shimanskiy] Does the Belorussian Government have a program for emerging from the economic crisis?

[Kebich] Yes, it does. This will be discussed comprehensively at the upcoming session of the republic Supreme Soviet. For the moment, I will dwell on just two points. First, within the framework of the funds they earn, enterprises receive complete freedom of action regarding compensation payments and cheaper food in plants' cafeterias. The second point is the deregulation of prices. To what extent is this justified, does it accord with programs for the transition to the market, could it become a trade and industry racket that will put pressure on the consumer? The government has adopted a new decision on pricing. Thus, in the food category of goods, fixed or state prices account for 85 percent of trade turnover, regulated prices with fixed upper limits account for six percent, and free prices account for nine percent.

[Shimanskiy] The striking workers' demands also included this: that the Belorussian Government should dissolve itself.

[Kebich] If anyone can propose a more effective program for extricating the republic's economy from the crisis, we will give way to them. But it is up to the will of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet. Such questions must be decided by constitutional means.

Ukraine Legislature Opposes State of Emergency

LD2504200191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1850 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent S. Volnyanskiy]

[Text] Kiev, 25 Apr (TASS)—The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet today called upon the supreme bodies of state power in the republic and the authorities in the USSR to demonstate political realism and dissociate themselves from the ill-considered acts and gestures of certain political groups and forces. It has adopted this statement because some of the deputies in the "Soyuz" group have called for summoning an extraordinary congress of USSR people's deputies in the near future and have called for the urgent introduction of a state of emergency throughout the country.

The statement notes that calls to resolve social problems by means of introducing a state of emergency constitute an attempt by extreme conservative forces to return the country to the sadly familiar times of an administrative-repressive system, cancelling out the achievements of recent years. The political line of several members of the "Soyuz" group is causing mutual relations within society to deteriorate, and its implementation would produce catastrophic consequences.

On the whole, the republic's Supreme Soviet has the situation in the Ukraine in hand and is doing everything to find a way out of the crisis. Therefore there are no grounds for introducing a state of emergency in the Ukraine, the statement says. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic views such calls as inadmissable, encroaching as they do upon the sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Disgruntled Kiev Students Support Miners

PM2504155391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

["Direct Link" report by Sergey Tsikora: "Students Come Out Onto the Kreshchatik"]

[Text] Kiev—A new wave of protests has swept the Ukraine—on 23 April students joined the miners who are continuing their strike.

Unrest among young people has been caused by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's failure to fulfill points in its own resolution, adopted last year under pressure from students on a hunger strike. A meeting between the youngsters and republic head L. Kravchuk was unsuccessful in preventing a strike.

What are the Ukrainian students demanding? In addition to the resolution's fulfillment, 100 percent compensation in their grants, the abolition of the five-percent sales tax, and satisfaction of the demands of the striking miners and workers.

Toward noon students began gathering on the Kreshchatik from various educational institutions in Kiev. The city authorities had not sanctioned holding a rally there. Militia subunits from nearby oblasts had been brought in to the republic capital to keep order. Heavy trucks and buses lined the approaches to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. The militia feared that the young people would break through to the legislature. According to a statement by V. Bubnov, acting chairman of Kiev strike committee, the republic strike committee which has just been set up had voiced solidarity with the student action.

Moldova's Gutsa Interviewed on Crisis Solutions

PM2504153591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Ion Gutsa, Second Secretary of the Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee, by TASS Correspondent F. Angeli for PRAVDA, date and place not specified: "From Communists to the Legislature"]

[Text] The Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee has sent the republic legislature some proposals containing concrete measures to extricate the republic from the crisis situation and stabilize the sociopolitical situation. What are the most important proposals submitted to the Supreme Soviet's examination? Ion Gutsa, second secretary of the Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee, now answers that question.

"First of all," he said, "we believe it necessary to begin discussing the second version of the draft Union treaty produced by the authorized representatives of the majority of Union and autonomous republics and determine their attitude toward it.

"The political document contains proposals on increasing the effectiveness of Moldovan legislative activity. To improve the organization of this work it is proposed in particular to reorganize the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium so that standing commission chairmen can focus their efforts exclusively on legislative and monitoring activity. In addition, it is proposed to ensure that the different nationalities living in the republic are represented in the Presidium.

"Another set of proposals relates to the economy. The economic program elaborated by the republic's government, in the Communists' opinion, should provide for Moldova's participation in economic ties across the whole territory of the USSR as well as with foreign partners.

"The implementation of the measures proposed by the Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee in the document sent to the Moldovan Republic Supreme Soviet would help not only to achieve real sovereignty while preserving the republic's territorial integrity, but also to stabilize the social and psychological climate, restore order, and improve the people's well being."

Lenin Monument Damaged in Moldovan Village

LD2504101591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondents V. Demeditskiy and A. Kharchenko]

[Text] Ungen (Moldova), 24 Apr (TASS)—There was an explosion at the Lenin monument in the settlement of Pyrlitsa in Ungenskiy Rayon last night.

As the TASS correspondents were informed at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the explosion took place at about 0300. A homemade explosive device was set off. The monument has become routine in Moldova. Only recently the Arc of Victory in the center of Kishinev was damaged, and the monument to Field Marshal Rumyantsev in Kakhul and memorial plaques to French writer Henri Barbusse, the defender of the Tatarbunar insurgents, were destroyed. But monuments to the founder of the Soviet state are in particular attracting vandals. So on 22 April, the monument to Lenin in the republic's capital was subject to destruction yet again. Earlier, similar acts of vandalism were registered in a number of towns and rayons of the republic.

Caucasus

Georgians Remove Tracks To Stop Military Train

AU2504155791 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1439 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The difficult situation in Samachablo [South Ossetia] created by the center and the intensive movement of military units along Georgian roads was the

cause for the incident that took place in (?Khenazi). On 24 April, in the afternoon, a group of people blocked the way of a military train, which transported heavy armored personnel carriers, tanks, guns, and other combat equipment in the direction of eastern Georgia. A group of people removed about five meters of railroad tracks. As [names indistinct] said in a conversation with our correspondent [names indistinct], there were no excesses either on the part of the population or of the military. It turned out that the train belonged to the Transcaucasian military district and was on its way to Azerbaijan. An agreement was reached and the track was repaired.

As for the movement of military detachments through Georgia, this may really lead to an exacerbation of the situation. For example, on 24 April, in the morning, assault troops in 50 cars departed from a (?helicopter) pad, which is situated in (?Tskhenisi) in [name indistinct] rayon, in the direction of eastern Georgia. All of these are sparks which may kindle a flame.

Three-Minute Strike in Georgia Draws 'Millions'

LD2504103391 Berlin ADN in German 0912 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—A general strike limited to three minutes paralyzed public life in Georgia today. According to the Georgian news agency SAKINFORM, millions of people took part in the national protest at 1200 local time. They were demanding the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from the crisis region of South Ossetia and an end to Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Georgia.

'Armed Militants' Behind Tension in S. Ossetia

LD2504102791 Moscow TASS in English 0952 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz April 25 TASS—There has been renewed tension in the past few days in South Ossetia, which is part of Georgia. Last night the environs of Tskhinvali came under fire from the side of Nikozi village, to which the state of emergency does not apply, a spokesman for the emergency committee of the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] told TASS. Georgian militants ceased fire and were forced to retreat only after the military had intervened.

However, clashes were reported in villages of the Tskhinvali and Znauri districts between armed militants and local Ossetian residents who work at their smallholdings, gardens and at vineyards under the protection of the military.

According to the information of the North Ossetian Interior Ministry, militants took 30 Ossetians hostage in the Znauri and Tskhinvali districts from April 20 to 25. All of them were taken to an unknown destination. The Ossetian side also took two Georgians hostage in the Tskhinvali district. Soviet Interior Ministry troops made attempts to rescue the hostages on both sides over the past 24 hours and it is now known that some were freed.

Another convoy of trucks carrying food and humanitarian aid for the residents of Tskhinvali passed the central Dzhava-Tskhinvali highway accompanied by armoured vehicles on April 24.

Industrial plants have been closed in Tskhinvali for four months. There is no electricity in the city and gas and water supplies are erratic.

Speaking in parliament, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia called for the holding of a referendum among Ossetians living in Georgia to decide on a status for South Ossetia, reports from Tbilisi say. He thinks that this is the only way to solve the crisis in the region democratically.

However, representatives of the South Ossetian public and refugees expressed a negative attitude to this statement. Virtually all of 56 villages on the territory of South Ossetia were raided and burnt. Their residents—Ossetians—were evicted from the region, so there is none to participate in a referendum.

VESTNIK GRUZII Paper Renamed

AU2304095491 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 10 Apr 91 p 1

[Text]

Notice To Our Readers!

SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA [Free Georgia]—from now on, this will be the name of the parliamentary newspaper VESTNIK GRUZII. Free Georgia has been a dream of many generations, a meaningful symbol of popular desire, and the aspiration of thousands of people residing in our republic, irrespective of their nationality or faith.

Thus, as from today, you will learn about all topical events in the life of the republic and about its past and present, from the newspaper SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Opens 25 Apr

LD2504104191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Armenian republican Supreme Soviet opened in Yerevan today. It has been convened according to a decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with the acute exacerbation of the situation in the Armenian-populated Shaumyanovskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan, in Getashen, and Berdazor.

Session Agenda Outlined

NC2604085391 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet met in an extraordinary full session on 25 April under its chairman, Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

The session first endorsed the following agenda prepared by the Supreme Soviet Presidium:

1. To establish a Supreme Soviet deputies commission to study instances of antipopular activities being fomented by certain high-level representatives of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh], Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getashen subrayon, and to find appropriate solutions.

2. To raise the issue of convening an extraordinary session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to examine the aggravation of relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan and the direct contribution of a number of Union departments to this aggravation.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan briefed the session on the serious political situation prevailing in the Soviet Union and current conditions in Artsakh, Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getashen subrayon.

Ashot Manucharyan, interim acting interior minister of the Armenian Republic; Usik Arutyunyan, chairman of the Committee for State Security; and USSR People's Deputy Zori Balayan delivered reports on the current situation in the region and ways to stabilize it.

The parliament elected a deputies commission to study instances of illegal activities being fomented by leading officials of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry in Artsakh, Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getashen subrayon. Deputy Suren Zolyan was elected chairman of the commission.

After a heated debate, it was decided that in accordance with Article 110 of the USSR Constitution, the question of convening an extraordinary session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to discuss the situation that has emerged in Artsakh and the Armenia-Azerbaijan border region would be raised.

With this, the full session of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet ended.

Nationalization of Party Property Assailed

PM2504102791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 Second Edition p 5

[Article by N. Kruchina, CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs: "Unconstitutional Acts"]

[Text] The Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution 17 April 1991 on nationalizing property under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and a day later an Armenian Council of Ministers resolution set up commissions to "store" party property and implemented other measures which are, for all intents and purposes, designed to prohibit Armenian Communist Party activity.

In the heat of the political struggle another step has been taken toward establishing antidemocratic usages in the republic and forcibly barring the Communist Party from the republic's political life.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat statement published in the central press and an Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum resolution have already said that these acts—along with a number of the provisions of the previously adopted Armenian SSR Law "On Sociopolitical Organizations"—are unconstitutional and contravene Union legislation.

The legal untenability of the Armenian legislature's decision is obvious. A serious investigation—precisely something that people in Armenia would not want—would easily prove the legality of CPSU ownership of property belonging to it. In this connection it is appropriate to recall the furor raised in and outside Latvia over the CPSU Central Committee's Latvian Publishing House. What charges haven't our opponents made. A few days ago the Union Board of Arbitration completed its examination of this case, having considered the property dispute between the CPSU and the Latvian Government. It ruled in favor of the CPSU. So attempts to present the party as the illegal owner of its own property ended in infamy.

Armenian parliamentarians have now supplemented the "arsenal of democracy" with their own decision, claiming without substantiation and contrary to common sense that CPSU property under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee was supposedly formed using state funds. Let us clarify this.

For many years the republic party organization's budget failed to balance and the discrepancy was made up with CPSU Central Committee subsidies.

In the 35 postwar years the subsidies that the Armenian Communist Party has received from the CPSU budget totaled more than 40 million rubles [R]. It was only after construction of the party publishing house—carried out totally with party funds backed up by material and technical resources—was completed in 1979 that payments began to be made into the CPSU budget out of profits. These payments totaled R10 million in the last 10 years.

The value of fixed capital at the disposal of Armenian party organs and the party publishing house is currently estimated at R26.6 million and R14.7 million respectively. Those are the facts.

The resolution on nationalizing CPSU property contains conjecture that the Armenian Communist Party supposedly exploited its position to accumulate material resources at the expense of the republic's citizens and state funds. Rejecting this ignoble conclusion, I will return to the tragedy that befell the Armenian people—the 1988 earthquake. Responding to this sad event, the CPSU selflessly donated R50 million to the victims' aid fund. An extra R5 million or so was sent to immediately mop up the aftermath of the earthquake. The construction detachment formed by the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs built a kindergarten in Kirovakan. Some 2,000 disaster victims, some of whom are still with us now, were housed in party hospitals and provided with all the essentials. The republic's Council of Ministers was allocated 1,700 passes for residents of Kirovakan, Leninakan, and Spitak to visit party rest homes and sanatoriums. A school was organized at the "Polyany" boarding house for children from the earthquake zone, running throughout the academic year.

Let us ask another question. Are the actions of Armenia's legislators so harmless to society? Do they only affect Communist Party interests? The conclusion here is unequivocal. The steps taken by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet harbor a serious threat and danger to all of society in that, as our history illustrates, this process will undoubtedly develop and move on to other aspects of our society's life.

The law must have its weighty say here. The law is universal and not selective. It cannot operate in some cases and remain indifferent in others. The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat appeal to the USSR president and the USSR Supreme Soviet is designed to ensure this.

Armenian Genocide Day Marked in NKAO, Georgia

NC2504153391 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0400 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The struggle for survival is continuing in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKAO]. Tens of thousands of people in Stepanakert went to the monument early in the morning to put fresh flowers there for the victims of the 1915 genocide. The people wore uneasy looks, which was understandable: The people of Artsakh have collided head-on with their history. The political (?leadership) of the neighboring republic, in collusion with Moscow, have planned for the Armenians in Azerbaijan a fate similar to that of their compatriots at the turn of the century. During the last three years and more they have done everything conceivable to suppress the freedom-loving spirit of Artsakh: Sumgait, Baku, declaration of the untimely state of emergency in Nagorno-Karabakh, anti-Armenian Organizational Committee, blockade, terrorism, plunder, elimination of the legal structures of power, and deportation of the peaceful population. These are the [words indistinct] of the genocide being committed in the 1990's.

The latest alarming events in Getashen subrayon—where Moscow left the Armenian elderly people, women, and children unprotected against the armed brigand formations—(?confirm) that they are not yet satiated with our blood.

Come what may, proud Artsakh will not bow its head. Shaumyanovskiy and Getashen, which are fully resolved to defend [words indistinct], will not be taken in by the deceitful plans of Azerbaijan. In fact, the Armenian people have matured and have finally realized that only they can shape their destiny.

The flow of people to the monument was unending, (?as though it were the continuation) of the struggle for national survival and human honor and dignity.

[The same newscast, in a separate report, says that the Armenians in Georgia also observed 24 April in the cities of Abkhazia, Akhalkalakskiy, and Ninotsminda Rayons, in Tbilisi.]

Text of Decree Outlawing Armenian Legislation

PM2504161991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

["Decree of the President of the USSR 'On Acts Adopted in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Which Violate the Rights of Public Associations and Citizens'"]

[Text] On 26 February 1991 the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet adopted the law "On Sociopolitical Organizations," according to which law-enforcement agency workers and servicemen cannot be members of any sociopolitical organization. Sociopolitical organizations which have leading organs and sources of finance and material assistance outside the republic are not permitted to operate. The creation of the organizational structures of sociopolitical organizations within state organs, establishments, organizations, educational institutions, and enterprises is banned.

The law effectively prohibits the practice of professions on political grounds and terminates the activity of all-Union public associations and organizations on Armenian territory. This is contrary to Articles 34, 39, and 51 of the USSR Constitution and USSR international commitments and discriminates against public organizations created in the USSR.

On 17 April 1991 the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted the resolution "On Nationalizing the Property of the Armenian Communist Party and the Former Lenin Communist Youth League of Armenia."

That act is based on deliberately distorted and farfetched arguments about the sources of the formation of all-Union organizations' property and contravenes the USSR Law "On Public Associations" as well as the USSR Law "On Ownership in the USSR" and the Armenian SSR Law "On Ownership in the Republic of Armenia," which do not provide for the nationalization

of the property of social organizations. In accordance with the CPSU's registered Statutes, its property is an asset of all the party and cannot be expropriated by a republic act.

In execution of this resolution, the republic's Council of Ministers issued a resolution on 18 April 1991 which stipulates specific measures to implement the illegal act of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Taking the aforementioned into account, and on the basis of points 1 and 9 of article 127/3 of the USSR Constitution, **I resolve**:

1. That in accordance with the USSR Constitution and the USSR Law of 24 October 1990 "On Ensuring the Operation of Laws and Other Acts of Legislation of the USSR," the provisions of the Armenian SSR Law "On Sociopolitical Organizations" and the republic Supreme Soviet resolution "On Nationalizing the Property of the Armenian Communist Party and the Former Lenin Communist Youth League of Armenia," which contravene all-Union legislation, are without legal force from the moment of adoption and are not liable to implementation by state and social organs, enterprises, establishments, organizations, and citizens.

2. That the execution of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Nationalizing the Property of the Armenian Communist Party and the Former Lenin Communist Youth League of Armenia" of 18 April 1991 shall be halted as contravening the USSR Constitution and USSR Laws.

M. Gorbachev, president of the USSR

The Kremlin, Moscow, 23 April 1991

Armenians Rename NKAO's Askeranskiy Rayon

NC1304121391 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Khachen was the name of one of the five Malikates of historical Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh]. For more than a century this region waged a struggle for survival against the neighboring [word indistinct] and the Turkish and Persian occupiers and kept their freedom and autonomy. Their patriotic work was edified by the great novelist Raffi in his work "The Malikates of Khamsa."

During the first years of the formation of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, Khachen region was called Khacheni and then Stepanakerti. It became known as Askeranskiy rayon in 1978.

Acceding to the wishes of the majority of the residents, the Askeranskiy rayon soviet session returned the historical name, Khachen, to the Askeranskiy rayon.

Armenian 'Murderer' of MVD Colonel Arrested

NC2504101891 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 24 Apr 91

[From the republican press review]

[Excerpt] As reported in the press, the organizers of the Rostov murder of Colonel Vladimir (?Blakhotin), deputy chief of the Administrative Department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Internal Troops in the Northern Caucasus and the Transcaucasus Region, have been arrested. The murderer is among those arrested. According to [word indistinct], this is an act of political terrorism.

[Word indistinct], arms, narcotic substances, and [word indistinct] documents, which belonged to the Armenian charity organization known as AMARAT [not further identified], were seized from the terrorists. However, IZVESTIYA and the other newspapers have failed to provide nay concrete information on the terrorist and those who trusted him. The only thing mentioned about the suspects was that they were all Armenian nationals.

The Azerbaijani people's deputies, who are members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, have submitted a motion in connection with the incident. The peoples deputies noted that they have been seriously disturbed by the act of terrorism carried out by the Armenians and expressed grief over the murder of Col. (?Blakhotin). They also demanded that the criminal investigation be personally supervised by the USSR procurator general. [passage omitted]

Nakhichevan Obkom Elects New First Secretary

91P50163

[Editorial Report] Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian of 5 April 1991 reports on page 2 that a plenum of the Nakhichevan ASSR [Communist] Party Obkom released A.D. Dzhalilov from his duties as obkom first secretary at his own request. Akper Fattakh ogly Aliyev, former first secretary of the Babekskiy Raykom, was unanimously elected Nakhichevan Obkom first secretary by secret ballot.

Former Azerbaijan Aides Criticize Aliyev

PM1704154191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 91 p 1

[POSTFACTUM report: "G. Aliyev Accused"]

[Text] A group of former senior Azerbaijani officials has come out against Geydar Aliyev.

The newspaper BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, the press organ of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee, has published an appeal from 16 former leading Azerbaijani organ officials to the republic Communist Party's Control and Auditing Commission. The authors claim that the wave of tyranny and repressions which

swamped Azerbaijan in the seventies has still not been properly assessed and elucidated. "Each of us was at the time unjustly, through the malevolence of Azerbaijan's leader Geydar Aliyev and his clan, removed from his post, expelled from the party, and subjected to defamation. Our families and friends, including children, became innocent victims."

The authors of the appeal—including I. Abbasov, former first secretary of Kazakhskiy Party Rayon Committee; G. Mamedov, former republic prosecutor; R. Guseynov, former rector of the Azerbaijani Arts Institute; M. Ali-Zade, former republic minister of internal affairs; and T. Aliyev, former republic deputy minister of internal affairs—emphasize that the ringleader of the repressions of the seventies is in "honorable and deserved retirement" and has now, through the efforts of certain forces, become a deputy, sits in parliament, and tries to create the impression of being the "father of democracy." "By anathematizing the CPSU in his speech in parliament Geydar Aliyev is trying to kindle strife between various groups, awaken predatory instincts, and undermine the processes of stabilization in the republic." Therefore he "must be conclusively debunked in the eyes of the people."

Central Asia

Kazakh Union Federation Appeals Against Strikes

LD2504092991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1322 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 24 Apr (TASS)—The Federation Council of the trade unions of Kazakhstan has adopted an appeal to labor collectives, union organizations and strike and workers' committees in which it is noted that the agreement between the Council and the Cabinet of Ministers of Kazakhstan on the social protection of the population is being put into practice consistently.

Taking this into account, the Federation Council considers that strikes will only cause an even greater collapse in the national economy and a harsh reduction in the volume of goods produced, and will lead to a reduction in national income and the impoverishment of the workers. The most reliable path is talks, parliamentary methods of examining complex problems, and jointly drawing up mutually acceptable solutions.

The Republic's higher trade union body has called upon everyone to apply maximum efforts for the preservation of the stable situation that has taken shape in Kazakhstan; not to give into emotions; to demonstrate restraint, calm, and common sense; and to dissociate themselves decisively from the emissaries of the various parties, movements, and fronts that are pursuing improper aims.

Former Uzbek Party Ideologist Rehabilitated

PM2504213491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report from news agencies roundup: "Abdullayeva Back in the CPSU"]

[Text] A petition to reinstate Rano Abdullayeva, former secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, into the party was accepted at a session of the republic Communist Party Central Control Commission in Tashkent. Uzbekistan's foremost ideologist was expelled from the party in December 1987 on the grounds of a USSR Prosecutor's Office accusation of gross violations of the norms of party life, abuse of official position for mercenary ends, and bribe-taking. However, on 15 January 1990 the USSR Supreme Court judicial collegium for criminal cases acknowledged Abdullayeva's innocence and closed the case in the absence of any formal element of a crime.

Another rehabilitated former Uzbek leader is Akil Salimov, who worked as chairman of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, INTERFAX reported.